

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Boston Blacks under racist siege

Antibusing gangs on rampage

By Osborne Hart

BOSTON, October 24—A resurgence of racist violence grips this city.

In recent weeks, not only have bigoted thugs stoned school buses carrying Black students and attacked them inside the schools, but they have invaded the streets, assaulting Black pedestrians at random.

On October 19, one of these white gangs roamed through the downtown area on a lynch-mob rampage. First they attacked two Black workers trying to make a delivery at City Hall, then they chased a group of Black college students, and went on to chase a Black couple on the Boston Common until interrupted by two local elected officials.

The Blacks were lucky to get away alive.

The assaults began with the opening of school. Then on September 28, seventeen-year-old Darryl Williams, a Black Jamaica Plain High School football player, was shot during a game in Charlestown—an all-white neighborhood. Williams lies paralyzed from the neck down in a Boston hospital.

Two days later, three white Charlestown youths were arrested for the shooting. Disgusted by the crime, Charlestown residents had aided the search for the culprits, who claim they were shooting at pigeons. The three were later released on their own recognition. A hearing in their case was scheduled for today.



BOSTON—White lynch mob taunts Black deliverymen (on right) at city hall October 19.

At the root of anti-Black terror here is racist opposition to the city's desegregation plan. In 1974, Judge W. Arthur Garrity ordered busing to overcome the city's totally segregated school system. When the plan began to go into effect that year, racist organizations waged a war of violence to try to block the order and deny Blacks an equal education.

Mobilizations of Blacks and their allies in the years following forced the racists to retreat from their goal of stopping busing altogether, but assaults on Blacks have persisted.

The enrollment in the public schools today is roughly 45 percent Black, 38 percent white, and 17 percent Hispanic and Asian-American. Although whites

are a majority of the city's population, some white parents have withdrawn their children from the city's schools in opposition to the busing plan.

The sharp rise of attacks on busing this fall—and the failure of the school committee or Democratic city officials to provide protection for the students

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Build Nicaragua solidarity drive



Nicaraguan youth celebrate on day dictator Somoza was overthrown.

The first national gathering of activists in the Nicaragua solidarity campaign since the fall of the Somoza tyranny will be held in Detroit November 16-18. Sponsored by the National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, this conference offers an excel-

An editorial

lent opportunity for activists from a wide range of political views and affiliation, to get together, exchange ideas, coordinate their efforts, and take this important campaign forward.

For all supporters of democratic and human rights, and most especially for socialists, there is no more important task at this time than organizing the broadest possible campaign for emergency material aid to the Nicaraguan people. The overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship in a mass popular insurrection led by the Sandinista National Liberation Front, and the progress of the Nicaraguan revolution in its

first four months have inspired the oppressed and exploited throughout the world.

But Somoza and his backers in Washington exacted a brutal price. Tens of thousands were killed or wounded. Schools and hospitals were destroyed. Factories were bombed. Seed crops, poultry, and livestock were eaten in desperation. Just to avoid widespread famine in the coming months more than 400 tons of food a day are needed until new crops can be planted and harvested.

The Nicaraguan revolution needs the active political and material solidarity of working people throughout the world in order to survive. This can be decisive in the outcome of the revolutionary process now unfolding. And it is precisely by campaigning for and obtaining this aid, and getting out the truth about the revolution, that we can best lay the groundwork for organizing opposition to any attempt to militarily intervene in Nicaragua.

In the United States, the solidarity movement is demanding that Washington, which is responsible for the destruction of the Nicaraguan economy, provide whatever economic, food, and medical aid is asked for by the

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...Nicaragua

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Government of National Reconstruction—with no strings attached. The U.S. alone could easily provide the 400 tons of food a day, a fact driven home by the highly publicized reports of this year's bumper crops of wheat and corn.

The conference in Detroit should also discuss a stepped-up effort to involve the trade unions in the campaign to get Washington to provide assistance, as well as making their own resources available to aid our Nicaraguan brothers and sisters. This includes sending fact-finding delegations to Nicaragua, using union offices and newspapers to help publicize the facts, and organizing shipment of material aid.

Resolutions of solidarity recently adopted by two locals of railroad workers and the Central Labor Council in Washington, D.C. indicate the possibilities that exist for obtaining such support.

Among the unionists affiliated to the National Network are Leo Suslow, director of International Programs for the United Auto Workers, and Abe Feinglass, international vice-president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union. The support of these unionists will facilitate obtaining more support and getting as many unionists as possible to the Detroit conference.

The solidarity committees and coalitions should also work to involve farmers' organizations—the American Agricultural Movement, the National Farmers Organization, the Farm Bureau, cooperatives, and other groups. Much of the aid needed by Nicaraguans is in the agricultural sphere—seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, restoration of cattle herds. American farmers can be drawn into helping to organize and campaign for this aid.

In order to build the most effective nationwide campaign of solidarity, everyone who agrees with the goal of organizing support for massive U.S. material aid should be welcome, even if they do not agree on other questions.

Non-exclusion can unite the broadest range of forces in a united effort of action.

All those who are active in solidarity committees or want to establish committees, and all those who are carrying out activities in their unions, on their campus, or elsewhere or plan to do so should come to the Detroit conference.

The conference will be held at the Sacred Heart Seminary, 2701 West Chicago Boulevard, Detroit. To register in advance, send \$10 to National Network in Solidarity with the Nicaraguan People, 1322 Eighteenth Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.

U.S. hands off the Sahara!

Carter administration officials announced on October 22 that they plan a major increase in arms shipments to King Hassan of Morocco. The purpose is to put down the Polisario freedom fighters in the Western Sahara.

Socialist Workers Party 1980 presidential candidate, Andrew Pulley, immediately denounced the move as "a brutal new U.S. step against the peoples of Africa."

The Western Sahara had been a colony of Spain until 1975, when the Spanish imperialists decided to turn it over to Morocco and Mauritania, against the will of the people who live there. Led by the Polisario Front, the Saharan people have been carrying out a struggle for independence ever since.

The Saharan people's freedom struggle has the backing of Algeria and Libya, the Organization of African Unity, and the recent summit conference of Nonaligned countries, led by Cuba.

In August, the Mauritanian government was finally forced to withdraw, acknowledging that it had been carrying out an "unjust war" and recognizing Polisario as the legitimate "representatives of the Saharan people."

The Moroccan government, with U.S. backing, then moved in to try and annex all of the Western Sahara.

The Carter administration fears that an independent Sahara would escape its control. Hassan, by contrast, has been one of the most compliant agents of U.S. policy in Black

Africa and the Mideast—for example, sending troops to Zaïre and backing Sadat's negotiations with Israel.

But Morocco's war in the Sahara has met stiff resistance. And the Hassan dictatorship has come under fire from workers at home.

Washington's decision to prop up the shaky Hassan regime threatens to drag us into a new military adventure—against the interests of American working people.

Stop all arms shipments to Morocco!

Independence for Western Sahara!

U.S. hands off Africa!

More lies on Cuba

At an October 16 "town meeting" in Dolton, Illinois, President Carter revealed another element in Washington's anti-Cuba propaganda barrage.

"Until they release the hundreds and hundreds, even thousands of political prisoners they have in jail," Carter said, "we will not recognize Cuba."

The president was lying. As it vowed to do, Cuba has already released thousands of prisoners this year.

The big-business-controlled news media, however, fell right in step with using the occasion of the October 21 release of one such prisoner—Huber Matos. Matos, a one-time commander in the Rebel Army, was arrested and convicted of treason in 1959.

The imperialist media is playing Matos up as a hero, jailed and tortured for opposing the spread of "Communist influence." Their slanderous accounts of his imprisonment are timed to whip up support for Carter's new war moves against Cuba, such as the military show of force October 17 when 1,870 marines were landed at Guantánamo Bay. Further U.S. military incursions into the Caribbean are planned—aimed against Nicaragua and revolutionary struggles throughout Central America.

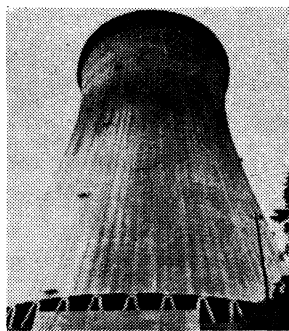
But as the story on the facing page shows, working people want no part of any new Vietnams in the Americas. Instead they are voicing increased support for ending the blockade against Cuba, pulling the U.S. out of Guantánamo, and restoring full diplomatic and economic relations with Cuba now.

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Harrisburg: six months later

Residents tell of anguish living in the shadow of the Three Mile Island nuclear plant. **Page 12.**

Iranian masses press forward

The Khomeini-Bazargan government has retreated in its attacks on civil liberties at the same time that factory committees are forming and a new popular uprising is occurring in Kurdistan. **Page 9.**



Coal miners prepare for battles

Two years after the 110-day strike, industry is again talking about the miners "fading power," but the ranks are yet to have their final say. **Page 14.**



The Militant

Editor: STEVE CLARK

Associate Editors: CINDY JAQUITH

ANDY ROSE

Business Manager: PETER SEIDMAN

Editorial Staff: Nancy Cole, Fred Feldman, Jim Garrison, Suzanne Haig, Osborne Hart, Gus Horowitz, Shelley Kramer, Ivan Licho, Janice Lynn, August Nimitz, Harry Ring, Dick Roberts, Priscilla Schenk, Arnold Weissberg.

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Upsurge shakes South Korea

By David Frankel

Blaming "hooligans" and "impure elements," South Korean dictator Park Chung Hee imposed martial law in Pusan October 17, the second day of antigovernment demonstrations there. But the protests by students and workers continued despite the troops, tanks, and armored cars that poured into the country's second-largest city.

On October 18 the protests—perhaps the biggest since the student-initiated upsurge of 1960 that brought down the government of President Syngman Rhee—spread to the industrial city of Masan. There, as in Pusan, troops were sent in, a curfew imposed, and universities closed. Nevertheless, demonstrations in both cities also took place October 19. According to a United Press International dispatch from Masan October 22, "many of the city's protesters were identified as factory workers."

Protest actions were reported as well in Seoul, Taegu, and Chongju.

The protests were a massive blow to the Park dictatorship and to its main backer—U.S. imperialism.

To Washington's embarrassment, U.S. Secretary of Defense Harold Brown arrived in Korea October 17, shortly after the protests began. He pledged to maintain strong forces in Korea and throughout the Pacific and "to maintain stability in the region

and deter acts of hostility or adventurism." But Brown had nothing to say about the struggle against the dictatorship.

While delivering a letter from President Carter on the human rights issue, Brown promised to upgrade U.S. artillery and air power in Korea and conveyed Carter's approval of a request by Park to allow the assembly of F-5 jet fighters in South Korean factories.

Carter's human rights charade was effectively exposed by opposition leader Kim Young Sam in an interview with *New York Times* correspondent Henry Scott Stokes published September 16.

Speaking of Carter's June visit to Korea, Kim said: "Carter gave a big present to Park by coming here. . . .

"We asked him not to come, precisely because it could encourage Park to strengthen oppression, and all this came true. When I think about the trip, I cannot suppress my anger."

Kim complained that "whenever I tell American officials that only by public and direct pressure on Park can the U.S. bring him under control, they say that they cannot interfere in the domestic politics of South Korea."

"This is a phony theory. Doesn't the U.S. have 30,000 ground troops here. . . ? What is that if not interference in domestic affairs?"

The current protests were set off by Kim's expulsion from the National Assembly October 4. In response, the entire opposition bloc in the Assembly resigned October 13.

Kim himself told *Washington Post* correspondent William Chapman October 9 that he was urging the opposition delegation not to resign. After the deputies voted to resign, Chapman pointed out that "the opposition party's almost unanimous decision would not have occurred unless many members had felt pressure from constituents angered by the expulsion."

Particularly ominous for the Park regime was the participation of workers in the demonstrations in both Pusan and Masan.

With prices rising at the rate of 30 percent a year, with unemployment up to 8 percent, and with wages averaging only \$250 a month, South Korean workers have good cause for their anger.

Workers seeking to better their conditions face the same strong-arm tactics used by the Park regime against any other demonstrators. In August, for example, one worker was killed, 100 injured, and nearly 200 arrested when police broke up a protest against unemployment at the headquarters of the opposition New Democratic Party.

The Park regime has sought to minimize the seriousness of the clashes,

the number of arrests, and the number of casualties. According to a report in the October 20 *New York Times* there have been 550 arrests in Pusan alone. Although the regime denies that there have been any deaths, an October 17 Reuters dispatch said "reports, some of which came from South Korean reporters and others from critics of Mr. Park's Government, said that five persons had been killed."

During his September interview, Kim compared the situation in South Korea to that of Iran under the shah. "Iran was America's supreme diplomatic disaster," he said. "I want the U.S. Embassy to avoid following the same track here."

However, as Brown's performance indicated, Washington sees little alternative to supporting Park's dictatorship. The whole history of Korea since World War II has been the history of U.S. support to one dictator after another. The imperialists are unable to maintain their grip through any other means, at least not for long.

And just as the imperialists have no choice but to support the dictator, the Korean people have no choice but to resist his tyranny. Despite Kim's warning, Korea will sooner or later follow Iran along the road to revolution. The latest protests indicate that it may be sooner.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

Calif. poll: majority favors relations with Cuba

By Shelley Kramer

A majority of residents of Northern California favor restoring diplomatic relations with Cuba, according to a poll conducted by the *San Francisco Chronicle*.

On October 18 the paper published the results of a call-in poll which asked readers: "Should the U.S. establish diplomatic relations with Cuba?" Out of 6,902 responses, 3,721 said "yes," while 3,181 said "no."

Some of the callers' remarks, reported along with the poll results, indicate changing attitudes about Cuba.

"Recognizing Cuba, just as we've recognized Russia and China, would go a long way toward easing world tensions," said a Palo Alto resident.

"As far as I can see, there's nothing to be gained by enmity between nations," answered an 82-year old Richmond caller.

How can the U.S. criticize Cuba for its actions in Africa when "we've done a lot worse in Vietnam and elsewhere?" a Berkeley student wanted to know.

"We're still sore at Castro because he put a stop to having Cuba used by Americans as one big gambling casino and whorehouse, like in the days of Batista," he added.

The outcome of the *Chronicle's* poll—following the turnout of 1,000 demonstrators to welcome Fidel Castro to New York October 12—is a stinging rebuff to Washington's all-out effort to turn public opinion here against Cuba.

During Fidel's recent trip to the U.S. to address the United Nations the news media spared no effort to smear the Cuban leader. New York papers even blasted Fidel for costing taxpayers so much in police protection—to guard him from would-be assassins that the U.S. government itself has backed over the years.

But Washington's lies, pressure tactics, and outright intimidation are not paying off anymore. Workers are coming to see that the establishment of closer relations with the Cuban people is in their interests.

CHRONICLE POLL

**Should the U.S.
establish
diplomatic
relations
with Cuba?**

RESULTS

YES

3721 - 54%

NO

3181 - 46%

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Blacks, UN delegates at NY forum

PLO leader welcomes Black support

By Gus Horowitz

Zehdi Terzi, the Palestine Liberation Organization representative to the United Nations, said at a public meeting October 20 that "the 'resignation' of Andrew Young was a spark that awakened a latent consciousness" among Americans, particularly Black Americans, about the issues in the Middle East.

Terzi, speaking at a Brooklyn Militant Forum, said that an initial curiosity and interest was increasingly becoming identification with the Palestinian struggle "for self-determination, independence, and sovereignty in our own country."

He denounced the Camp David accords as a "flagrant violation of the rights of the Palestinian people." The accords, he said, talk about "Arab inhabitants" of the area, but not about the "Palestinian people, as such."

The accords give legitimacy to the Israeli occupation of the Arab territories conquered in 1967, he added, whereas the occupation had previously been considered illegal.

"We are struggling for our rights," he said in conclusion. "Those include our rights to life, our rights to our homes, our rights to self-determination, our rights to have our own state. Unless we are able to exercise those rights, there will be no peace."

Terzi received a standing ovation from the crowd. He was speaking on a panel devoted to the theme, "Black Americans and the Middle East," a subject that has been the focus of international attention ever since Andrew Young was forced to resign his post as UN ambassador after meeting with PLO representative Terzi.

Others participating in the October 20 panel were Kendrick Radix, the ambassador to the UN from Grenada; Rev. George Lawrence, the communications director of the Progressive National Baptist Convention, an organization of 1.5 million Blacks; Rev. Herbert Daughtry, the metropolitan chairperson of the Black United Front, which came into city-wide prominence last year for organizing protests against the killing by police of Brooklyn Black community leader Arthur Miller; and David Frankel, who has written extensively on Mideast affairs for the *Militant* and the weekly socialist magazine *Intercontinental Press/Inprecor*.

Socialist Workers Party leader Maceo Dixon, who chaired the panel, told the *Militant* that the fact that the PLO can now find public platforms in the United States alongside prominent Black community leaders is "a breakthrough." He said that the Militant Forum audience of more than 200 people was much broader than usual, reflecting a growing breadth of support and interest in the Palestinian struggle.

More than forty Blacks attended the



Militant/Suzanne Haig

PLO representative to UN, Zehdi Terzi, left, during standing ovation he received at Brooklyn Militant Forum. Others on panel were, left to right, Maceo Dixon, Socialist Workers Party; Rev. George Lawrence, Progressive National Baptist Convention; David Frankel, 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor'; and Kendrick Radix, ambassador to UN from Grenada. Rev. Herbert Daughtry of the Black United Front also spoke.

meeting. Also present were Arabs and Latinos, including members of the Antonio Maceo Brigade, a Cuban organization.

"I hope there will be many more meetings like ours," Dixon added. "It is not only a step forward for the Palestinian struggle, but for the Black struggle as well. We've got to press ahead with the debate over U.S. policy in the Mideast. This is essential on the way forward for Black Americans and for all working people."

It is "the right of African Americans and all people to involve themselves in world affairs," Herbert Daughtry said in his remarks. "After all, it is our world, and we will be blessed or cursed by the decisions that others make regarding this world."

Daughtry said that the Black United Front had a long-standing position of support for Palestinian self-determination, and he welcomed the public debate on this issue. "Those who want to stop the debate don't want the facts to come out."

George Lawrence was even more emphatic. "That's ante-bellum stuff," he said, in reference to those who say Blacks have no business discussing the Mideast. "We got rid of that way back yonder."

"The whole issue in the debate is that Black people are determined that we have grown up, that we're men and women ten feet tall . . . and there ain't nobody going to tell us who we can support and who we can't support," he said to a round of applause.

Several speakers took up the Zionist argument that the holocaust that the Nazis carried out against the Jewish people justified Zionism, and that those who disagreed were callous to the sufferings of the Jews.

The speakers argued in response that Black people are concerned about the oppression suffered by any people, and that Blacks, too, had suffered a holocaust, in which many millions were killed, whole peoples of Africa were decimated, and millions were forced into slavery.

Blacks stood together with Jews in opposing the atrocities committed by the Nazis, Lawrence pointed out. But

today, "there is nothing on earth more demeaning to humanity than what is happening to the Palestinians."

The speakers also dealt with the media campaign against the PLO. "They call the PLO terrorist," said Dixon, "in order to try and scare people, to prevent them from listening to what the Palestinians are really saying." But that is not going to work anymore, he added.

"The western press," Lawrence said, "is telling us there is nothing right with PLO, nothing right with the Palestinian fight for self-determination. Who is saying that? They are our real enemy."

Kendrick Radix of Grenada specified U.S. imperialism as the enemy, taking up this theme from the viewpoint of someone "from an island in which we are the sons and daughters of slaves, an island which imperialism has dominated for the past 350 years."

He stressed the connection between the struggles of his people, of Black people in the United States, Blacks in South Africa, and the Palestinians, saying that "the power center of oppression and exploitation is right here in America."

There is a common enemy and a common struggle against that enemy, he stressed. "Africa's freedom is our freedom. The freedom of the Palestinians is our freedom. Wherever there is a struggle to be fought, we must join and be part of that struggle."

Radix also warned that "an adventure similar to the one in Vietnam is looming for the people of the United States." He was referring to the "rapid deployment forces" that Washington is setting up to be able to intervene quickly in the Mideast or the Caribbean.

The danger of new wars in the Mideast was dealt with in greater detail by David Frankel. He pointed to the past Mideast wars in which Washington had been prepared to intervene directly, and said that U.S. policy in the Mideast "can only end in a new war, a war that may well end in nuclear disaster for the whole world."

Frankel declared that U.S. support for Israel is against the interests of

American workers, and hailed Black leaders like Jesse Jackson and Joseph Lowery for acting in the interests of all working people by opening a discussion on the rights of the Palestinian people.

Frankel also maintained that the Palestinian struggle is in the interests of the Israeli working people—Jewish as well as Arab.

"Zionism has led the Israeli Jews into a trap," he said. "It has cast them in the role of an outpost for a decaying social system, and left them isolated from all the progressive forces in the world."

The problems that Israeli workers face daily—such as the threat of new wars, the 100 percent inflation rate, the racist practices against Arabs and Sephardic Jews—are built into the nature of the state, he said. The alternative is to break with Zionism and look to the Arab people as allies rather than enemies.

"Let the Jewish workers in Israel join the protests against the seizure of Arab land. Let the Jewish workers in Israel take to the streets against the frame-ups of Palestinian activists, against the tortures, against the racist brutality of the police and border guards in the Arab villages. They will find the Palestinians eager to join hands in such a struggle."

"And they will also begin to build a basis for Arabs and Jews living together in the Middle East."

Terzi, speaking later, explained the PLO position on Arab-Jewish relations. "We Palestinians have said very clearly: we want to live in peace in our own country, with whoever lives with us in that country, be he Jew, Black, yellow, Christian, or Moslem. This is our motto. We want to live in our own country as human beings without any discrimination."

Peace is possible, Terzi stressed, but only if the Palestinians obtain their rights. "We are the principal element, the prerequisite, the ingredient for peace in the Middle East. We are not the obstruction. Those who are obstructing the peace efforts are the Zionist expansionist racists, supported by the United States."



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky

TERZI: 'We are struggling for our rights.'

D.C. labor council demands aid for Nicaragua

In the face of enormous difficulties, the Nicaraguan people are making a determined fight to build a new social order.

In addition to the legacy of devastation from the Somoza tyranny, there is the problem of obtaining desperately needed relief from abroad. The U.S. government, which is in the best position to provide food, clothing, and medicine, is instead brandishing its military might at Nicaragua.

Yet despite Washington's hostility, coupled with a curtain of silence in the big-business press, unionists are becoming aware of the need for solidarity with the Nicaraguan workers and peasants.

A recent inspiring example is the resolution, printed below, unanimously adopted October 15 by the Washington, D.C., Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

The labor council vote follows similar action by two D.C. area rail union locals. On October 5 a Nicaragua solidarity resolution was adopted by Blue Eagle Lodge 190 of the Brotherhood of Railway Carmen in Alexandria, Virginia. And, on September 27, a similar resolution was approved by Lodge 1906 of the Brotherhood of Railway and Airline Clerks, representing D.C. Amtrak workers.

In addition, we are reprinting an editorial from the October 19 issue of 'Barricada,' newspaper of the Nicaraguan Sandinista National Liberation Front.

Its explanation of the role of the unions in promoting the interest of the workers offers an indication of why American capitalism is hostile to the Nicaraguan revolution—and why U.S. workers should extend our solidarity to it.

Labor council stand

The people of Nicaragua have paid a great price for their freedom from the Somoza dictatorship. The vast destruction wrought by Somoza and his national guard has left the country in a desperate situation.

Three hundred tons of food per day are needed to stave off the threats of starvation and medicine, tools, and clothing are also urgently needed.

As a final act of robbing the Nicaraguan people Somoza drained the national treasury before he left and thus left the country in bankruptcy. The agricultural and industrial sectors have been severely disrupted.

The United States being the richest country in the world, also carrying the responsibility for having installed and supported the Somoza dynasty, has shown a mediocre response toward the tremendous needs of the Nicaraguan people.

We call on the president and congress of this country to live up to the U.S. promises to support Nicaragua by immediately increasing food aid and by granting generous, unconditional reconstruction aid for the rebuilding of a free and democratic Nicaragua.

The Washington, D.C. Central Labor Council will send a copy of the resolution to all its affiliated unions and

urges them to educate their membership about the situation in Nicaragua by inviting a representative of the Washington D.C. Nicaragua Solidarity Coalition (DC-NICA) or other supporters of the Nicaraguan people to make presentations at union meetings.

'Barricada' editorial

In class societies social classes organize themselves in accordance with their interests.

In our Nicaraguan society the social classes also organized themselves, despite the cruel Somocista repression. They organized above all to overthrow the Somocista military dictatorship.

Each social class forms organs or organizations that enable it to reach its objectives as a class. Among such organizations the trade unions stand out as effective weapons of the workers for fighting to the death against repression and exploitation.

Somocismo, which was characterized above all by its high level of repression, put its most faithful and corrupt elements in the workplaces to keep the workers down. The relations between the owners of the factories and the workers were thus relations of exploitation and repression.

These workplaces had their so-called grievance secretaries, who tried to defend the interests of the workers—a task that in the majority of cases was fruitless owing to the Somocista mechanisms, which did not allow such a thing.

Despite this situation, our industrial and agricultural proletariat went about organizing itself in such a way as to not only make it possible for it to achieve liberation from the brutal Somocista dictatorship, but also to do so jointly with our entire people.

The workers' struggle could only be carried out through the workers' own organizations, among which the clandestine trade unions played a role of great importance.

Today those same workers are at the head of the factories that they themselves tore away from Somocismo. The role of the union now is not the same as before; it is now to be the controller of production in these workplaces.

Administration of the factories, workplaces, and agricultural units that are under state control require the creation of Production Councils to supervise the functioning of the factories, workplaces, and agricultural units.

These should be concerned with organizing the political education, social well-being, and other needs of the workers.

This means that in those workplaces where the workers are carrying out tasks that the bosses once exercised, new labor relations exist—fraternal relations that were not possible before.

It also means that the great majority of the people are to be the principal beneficiaries in this country, and that the workers are to be truly incorporated into the exercise of power.

Thus workers should understand this new situation that is presented to them and *prepare themselves to administer* the production that is so necessary for our country and our heroic Sandinista people.

Production must be directed toward the reconstruction of the new homeland of the Nicaraguans—not for the enrichment of a few, but for the benefit of the country. This is the *social content* of the Sandinista People's Revolution.

Increased production—smash the counterrevolution!

El Salvador junta continues attacks on rights

By Fred Murphy

MANAGUA, Oct. 22—The death toll in the first four days of rule by El Salvador's new military government reached at least fifty-two, with well over a hundred wounded, according to figures compiled by that country's Human Rights Commission.

Upon ousting General Carlos Humberto Romero from the presidency on October 15, the new junta headed by colonels Jaime Abdul Gutiérrez and Adolfo Arnoldo Majano offered promises of a "democratic opening."

But when armed confrontations led by the Revolutionary People's Army (ERP) and the February 28 People's League (LP-28) broke out October 16 in the working-class suburbs northeast of the capital, San Salvador, the junta did not hesitate to employ maximum force. Most of the deaths occurred in these confrontations.

The colonels have managed—on the strength of their democratic promises—to pick up support from some opposition groups, mostly among the bourgeois parties, and on October 17, the addition of three civilian represen-

tatives to the junta was announced.

The Salvadoran Communist Party (PCS) also offered "critical support" to the junta. PCS leader Roberto Castellanos declared October 21 that "we support the junta because we believe it is going to comply with its promises and open the possibility of democratizing the country."

However, the main organizations of workers and peasants in El Salvador—the Revolutionary Peoples Bloc (BPR) and the United Peoples Action Front (FAPU)—have declared their opposition to the new regime.

The immediate axis of struggle in El Salvador is shaping up around demands that the new junta lift the state of siege and release political prisoners. On October 20, representatives of the Human Rights Commission (CDH) met with the junta and demanded the immediate presentation of the hundreds of political activists who have "disappeared" in recent years.

The CDH is also demanding the dissolution of the most notorious repressive bodies—the Treasury Police, National Police, National Guard, and National Security Agency.

Balto. labor council backs Va. ERA drive

By Joey Rothenberg

BALTIMORE—Trade unionists here will join those in Virginia and from all over the country marching for the Equal Rights Amendment in Richmond, Virginia, on January 13.

On October 18 the Baltimore Metropolitan Central Labor Council unanimously voted to establish a committee to support the Labor for Equal Rights

Now (LERN) campaign. The LERN activities, called by a conference of 600 trade unionists last August, include educational work for the ERA, December 2-9 local actions, and a march and rally on January 13.

The Central Labor Council, which represents tens of thousands of trade unionists in the Baltimore area, had a discussion on why the ERA not only

affects women but all working people.

The ERA committee established by the Central Labor Council can play an important role in mobilizing the powerful Steelworkers and other unions here for the Virginia campaign.

In 1978 the Baltimore Metropolitan Central Labor Council helped organize a similar solidarity activity: a caravan of hundreds of cars and trucks bringing food and clothing to striking coal miners in West Virginia.

Women steelworkers from USWA Locals 2609 and 2610 at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrows Point plant have already begun activities in their locals in support of the ERA.

The Women's Advisory Committees of these locals are sponsoring a Halloween Disco to raise funds for the ERA and other committee activities.

The pamphlet "Labor's Stake in the ERA," published by LERN, is being distributed to co-workers as are ERA hardhat stickers.

The Women's Advisory Committee's participation in the Central Labor Council's ERA committee shows what unionists in other locals can do.

Local 8888 to lead off march

United Steelworkers Local 8888—finally recognized by Tenneco as bargaining agent of the Newport News production and maintenance workers after a twenty-one month battle—has agreed to lead off the January 13 march and rally for the ERA in Richmond, Virginia. This was announced at the October 21 Labor for Equal Rights Now state coordinators meeting.

Local 8888's ERA committee is also helping in the building efforts of a December 8 demonstration in downtown Newport News.

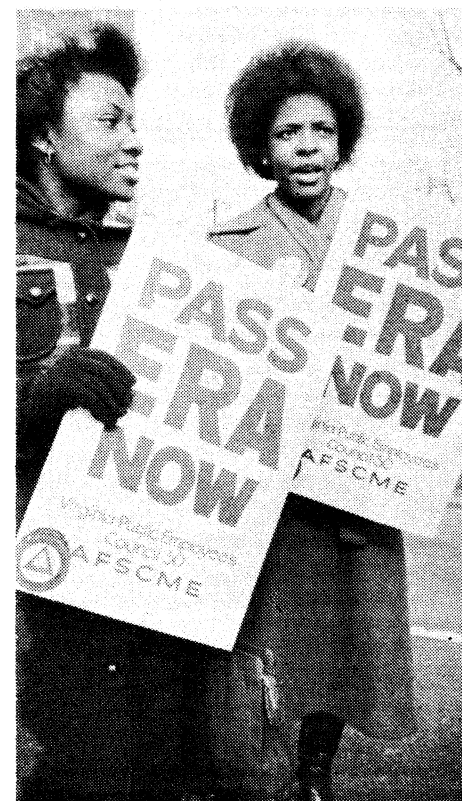
The action is part of the December

2-9 LERN week of activities to build support for the January 13 march.

At the October 21 LERN meeting the January 13 march route was finalized.

Marchers will assemble at 12:30 p.m. at Monroe Park in Richmond. Beginning at 1 p.m., the march will proceed down Franklin Street to the state capital grounds for a rally at 2:30 p.m.

Leaflets for the march are available. To order or for more information, contact LERN, 116 South Third Street, Richmond, Virginia 23219. Telephone: (804) 648-5801.



Militant/Ginny Hildebrand
Participants in LERN's 1978 march for ERA.

Boston Black students speak out

'How can you learn when risking your life?'

By Osborne Hart

"How are you going to go to school wanting to learn when you're risking your life?" a Black Charlestown High School student asked me.

I sat in the living room of a Roxbury home as five Black students related the stories of racist violence in their school. They asked that their names not be used because of possible victimization by school authorities. Just the day before, on October 22, seven Black students had been suspended for five days because of a fight that white students started.

All of the five students I talked to have been enrolled at Charlestown High for at least a year. They are bused into all-white Charlestown from Roxbury each day under Boston's desegregation plan.

The five were at the Charlestown High football game September 28 when Darryl Williams, a Black player on the Jamaica Plain High School team, was brutally gunned down.

It had been rumored the day before at school that

"something" was going to happen at the game. Despite the rumor, school authorities increased police protection at the playing field by only a handful of cops. Williams was struck down as he stood right out on the field.

Following the shooting, the students told me, Blacks at Charlestown High organized meetings and put forth demands for protection during athletic events and inside the school.

Of particular concern were the gym classes, which are held on the same field where Williams was shot. The Blacks demanded gym classes inside the school, away from the open playing field where they would be fair game for another racist sniper.

When their demands were not met, the Black students boycotted school for several days. The boycott began on October 3, when students walked out to join a demonstration of 1,000 against racist violence.

Several days later racist white students began a

boycott and the attacks on Blacks inside the schools began.

The students I talked to described what it is like to attend Charlestown High every day. When the buses bringing Blacks to school arrive each morning, white students are organized and ready to meet them. They try to single out individuals for assault.

Once in class, the battles continue. "It's usually eight Blacks against twenty to twenty-five whites," one of the students explained. "They block off exits in the hall and surround us."

For self-protection, Black students have begun to organize their own defense, travelling in the halls in groups rather than alone.

But they are the ones blamed for the fights. "The principal singles us out," one student explained. "If we so much as lift a hand to defend ourselves we get kicked out of school."

"I've been going to Charlestown for three years and I've never seen things worse," commented another. "If things keep going this way, they're going to have to close the schools."

Pulley calls for full protection for Blacks

The following is a statement by Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president.

Black people are not safe on the streets of Boston today.

Black students are being stoned by white racist gangs as they ride buses to school. They are jumped in the halls and classrooms. One student, Darryl Williams, was shot down on a football field!

Black workers face lynch-mob attacks just walking in downtown Boston in broad daylight.

This resurgence of racist violence is directly related to the court-ordered busing to desegregate Bos-

ton schools. It threatens the hard-fought gains that Blacks have won for the right to an equal education.

In the face of daily assaults on Black people, the school officials and the Democratic-controlled city government have not lifted a finger. They blame the violence on "both sides." But in practice, it is Black students who are being victimized for defending themselves and their right to a decent education.

Both Jimmy Carter and Edward Kennedy have given the racists a helping hand. Speaking in Boston October 20, Kennedy refused to place the blame where it belongs. Instead he called for a "serious effort to

reach out and bring our brothers and sisters together" as if Blacks are equally responsible for the violence.

Carter, who was also in Boston, didn't say one word. But earlier in Illinois he openly sided with the enemies of Blacks, who are trying to block desegregation in Chicago, by saying "mandatory busing ought to be minimized."

Far from minimizing busing, we need to *expand* desegregation efforts.

The labor movement is on record in support of busing as a means to achieve desegregation. An equal education for all is in the interests of every working person in this country.

And the forces that are seeking to deny this right to Black children are the same ones trying to deny women the Equal Rights Amendment and the right to abortion. They're the same forces out to bust unions with the so-called right-to-work laws.

Working people in Boston and around the country should join in an outcry against these racist attacks.

Mayor Kevin White must be forced to provide full police protection for every Black and Puerto Rican in the city of Boston—on the school buses, in the classrooms, and on the streets.

Darryl Williams's would-be murderers must be brought to justice. The buses must continue to roll.

...Boston

Continued from front page

being bused—has outraged the Black community.

After Williams's shooting, the City-wide Parents Advisory Council organized a protest rally on October 3 of more than 1,000.

Protests and walkouts by Black students continued for days afterwards.

On October 17, South Boston High School was closed after white students started a fight with Blacks getting off buses.

On the same day, at East Boston High School, more than 100 white students attacked buses carrying Black students. The same white mob attacked cops, damaged cars, and then

marched to city hall to demand a meeting with Mayor Kevin White.

Taking advantage of the stance taken by capitalist politicians here who are placing "even-handed blame" for the violence on whites and Blacks, the white youths said they wanted to discuss their "protection" with the mayor.

Anti-busing leaders Albert O'Neill and James Kelly had previously called a meeting for that evening at city hall. According to a spokesperson for the racist South Boston Information Center, "Anyone who's against busing or bias in the media can attend."

In an October 16 editorial the *Boston Globe* explained that the "whites only" meeting would discuss "the grievances against blacks to prove that whites are more victimized by blacks than vice versa."

Mayor White banned the meeting. But 100 racists rallied outside city hall anyway chanting such slogans as, "Get the niggers. White rights, too."

A smaller group marched to the mayor's home. One participant was overheard saying, in reference to the Williams shooting, "I hope the nigger dies."

Meanwhile, Superintendent of Schools Robert Wood has announced a "get tough" policy to take care of "troublemakers." When white students started a fight at Charlestown High October 22, seven Black students and six whites were suspended.

That the violence is being carried out by a small, organized minority is demonstrated by an open letter to Darryl Williams's mother signed by Charlestown residents. Distributed at churches here, the letter denounced "the racist madness that consumes the hearts of the few who bring dishonor and de-

basement to all people of good will all over the city of Boston. . . ."

City council member Lawrence Di-Cara of Dorchester declared: "It is time to stand up and say it is wrong and stop attempting to disguise what is simple racism, simple violence, and simple hooliganism."

But the racists are encouraged by the refusal of city hall to provide full protection to Blacks. Both Democratic candidates in the mayoral runoff elections, Joseph Timilty and incumbent Kevin White, push the "even blame" approach, calling for "calm and understanding" on both sides.

Presidential contenders Sen. Edward

Kennedy and Jimmy Carter, who were in Boston October 20 at the peak of the violence, also refused to defend Black students' right to an equal education. Kennedy piously called for a "serious effort to reach out and bring our brothers and sisters together." Carter said nothing at all, but in Illinois, a few days before, he spoke out against "mandatory busing," giving a green light to the racist forces.

"Calm and understanding" will come to this city only when Darryl Williams's assailants are prosecuted and convicted and when Blacks can walk the streets and attend the schools again without fear for their lives.

Chicago racists emboldened

CHICAGO—Three hundred white youth staged an anti-busing protest October 19 at Hubbard High School on Chicago's Southwest Side.

They taunted and jeered Black students arriving at the school. When cops told them to disperse, they refused. There was some jostling and five were arrested.

The white youths told reporters they were "inspired by the events in Boston" where there have been renewed attacks against Black students.

The racist demonstration here came as the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare told the Chicago school board to come up with a satisfactory desegregation plan. The current "voluntary" plan would—at best—desegregate 3 percent of the schools.

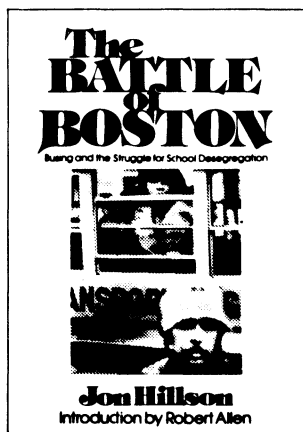
The board rejected an HEW plan that would have bused some 114,000 students and desegregated an estimated 60 percent of the schools.

HEW said if the board does not comply with the HEW plan by October 27 it will turn the issue over to the Justice Department for prosecution.

In court, the outcome could take five to six years. Meanwhile the school board would be free to continue as is and still qualify for federal school funds.

The racists have been egged on by Democratic politicians. Mayor Jane Byrne recently attacked mandatory busing with the assertion that it "denies children their childhood."

In an October 15 speech here, President Carter chimed in, declaring that "mandatory busing ought to be minimized."



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Zimmermann in Twin Cities

'U.S. policy on Kampuchea is crime of decade'

By Susan LaMont

TWIN CITIES, Minn.—Matilde Zimmermann wound up four days of campaigning here at a socialist campaign rally October 20.

Zimmermann, Socialist Workers vice-presidential candidate, blasted Washington's hypocritical refusal to send massive food aid to ravaged Kampuchea as the "crime of this decade."

"Ten years ago, Washington used saturation bombing to terrorize the people of Kampuchea (Cambodia). Now, almost the entire remaining population of Kampuchea, made up mostly of children, is threatened with starvation. And the United States government insists on playing politics with these people's lives," she said.

Zimmermann explained that 165,000 tons of rice were needed to save two and a half million Kampucheans from starvation by the end of 1979. "The U.S. has 400,000 tons of rice stockpiled in this country," Zimmermann said. "It certainly has the food and the planes to immediately begin a massive airlift of supplies."

"It was the total economic and social devastation of the country by U.S. bombs that set the stage for Pol Pot's reign of terror in Kampuchea," Zimmermann continued. "Washington is rushing military hardware to Thailand right now to try to prop up the remnants of this murderous regime. The Pentagon's criminal response to mass starvation in Kampuchea seems to be 'let them eat bullets.'"

"Washington's official excuse for

refusing to send food and medicine to Kampuchea is that the current government of Heng Samrin, supported by Vietnam, won't allow this aid into the country. This is an absolute lie. Relief planes can come and go. In fact, the Heng Samrin government officially requested aid from all possible sources three months ago. It is just unthinkable that this food is being withheld."

Zimmermann concluded, "Our demands are for Washington to immediately send massive food supplies to Kampuchea with no strings attached and to cut all ties with the butcher, Pol Pot."

Nearly seventy people heard Zimmermann's powerful speech and donated close to \$2,000 to the socialist campaign. Other speakers at the rally were Gayle Swann, SWP candidate for mayor of Minneapolis, and Betsy Gilson from the Young Socialist Alliance.

Zimmermann and SWP supporters campaigned October 17 at the Ford Motor Company's St. Paul Truck Assembly Plant. They had received permission to campaign at the door of the plant, which is surrounded by a huge parking lot. Normally, campaign supporters must sell the *Militant* and distribute campaign literature outside the gates of the parking lot as workers are driving in.

Zimmermann received a friendly response. Standing by a banner that said, "Human Needs Before Profits," Zimmermann explained that she was campaigning for working people to get into politics on our own behalf. "The way to do that is for our unions to take

the initiative and run labor candidates," she said. "What we really need is a labor party."

"That's right" and "Sounds good" were some of the common responses. Zimmermann also urged the auto workers to participate in the Big Oil protests scheduled later that day at the state capitol.

At the energy rally, Zimmermann and campaign supporters talked to some of the 300 participants. Many were delegates to the convention of the International Woodworkers of America. Forty-three copies of the *Militant* were sold. One of the most enthusiastic salespeople was an IWA delegate from northern Michigan. He was so impressed with the *Militant's* banner headline demanding, "Nationalize the energy industry," that he took twelve copies and sold them to other IWA members within a short amount of time. He also attended the campaign rally Saturday evening.

Zimmermann's campaign supporters also distributed more than 1,000 pieces of campaign literature and sold sixteen copies of the *Militant* at the Minnesota Education Association convention.

Zimmermann spoke to more than seventy people at the University of Minnesota October 19 about her recent trip to Cuba.

The next day, Zimmermann and Swann campaigned at the Burlington and Northern diesel shop. Swann is a member of the Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers and knows many of the workers in the shop. A number of Swann's co-workers wear "Swann for



Zimmermann campaigns at Kansas City GM plant.

Mayor" buttons and follow her campaign closely.

One worker, a member of the United Transportation Union local there, told Zimmermann, "There's two things that really get me—Ma Bell and the oil companies. They just shouldn't be allowed to make a profit." When he saw the back page of the *Militant*, with the "Nationalize the energy industry" headline, he grabbed the paper and said, "Right on. That's what I'm for."

Zimmermann's tour was widely covered in the media. Feature articles appeared in the *Minneapolis Star*, *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, and the *University of Minnesota Daily*. She had numerous radio interviews and a TV spot.

Campaign supporters here in the Twin Cities got a big boost this week by seeing the enthusiastic response given Zimmermann's socialist proposals by hundreds of unionists.

Pulley hits Carter, Kennedy on recession plans

By Robin David

BIRMINGHAM—The Carter administration's latest economic moves amount to "stepping up the class war against working people, the poor, Blacks, and women," charged Andrew Pulley, Socialist Workers presidential candidate, at an October 20 campaign rally here.

Under the guise of "fighting inflation," Pulley noted, the Federal Reserve Board is tightening credit and pushing up interest rates with the deliberate aim of deepening the recession and throwing millions onto the unemployment lines. Carter gives 100 percent support to these antilabor actions.

The truth is that Carter has no intention of easing the burden working people face from rising prices, Pulley explained. The administration's decontrol of oil prices proves that. "Decontrol will mean higher energy prices, which drive up the prices of everything working people have to buy," the socialist candidate said.

At the same time, "higher interest rates make it harder for people to buy homes and borrow money."

Less than four years ago, Carter was campaigning—and winning union support—as the candidate pledged to full employment. Now he is cold-bloodedly planning a massive upswing in layoffs to intimidate workers into accepting lower wage increases, speed-up, and worse working conditions, Pulley said.

Just as with Carter's energy policy, the aim of the new "tight money" plan is to bolster big-business profits at the expense of workers.

"Democrats and Republicans alike—Carter, Kennedy, Ford, Connally, Baker, and Reagan; the Senate and the House of Representatives—all support these policies, policies that are only in the interests of the ruling rich," Pulley said.

He called attention to a recent interview in *Business Week* with Sen. Edward Kennedy. In it the Massachusetts Democrat states that the recent Fed-



Andrew Pulley talks to Pullman Standard workers in Bessemer, Alabama.

eral Reserve Board actions "are not steps that I would differ with. . . ."

Kennedy also voiced support for a reactionary bill now in Congress to drastically cut taxes for big business. He added that he supported major reductions in the federal budget. And since Kennedy also backs projected multi-billion-dollar increases in military spending, that means cutbacks in social services.

Although Kennedy is often portrayed as a champion of putting controls back on oil prices, he told *Business Week* that nothing could be done about it until 1981, and "whether reversal would make any sense then is academic."

Pulley noted that Kennedy often says he is running for president in order to provide "better leadership."

"To me," Pulley commented, "that means he thinks he can fool us better."

To defend itself against the bipartisan antilabor offensive, Pulley said, the labor movement needs a political arm. "A labor party based on the unions could fight for the interests of

all working people and the oppressed against the two parties of big business."

Mohammed Oliver, SWP candidate for mayor in the recent Birmingham elections, summed up the impressive gains the party made through that campaign. The SWP is relatively new to Birmingham, he said, but it has been aggressive in getting out its ideas.

This was reflected at the rally. Fourteen people who had never been to a socialist rally before came to hear Pulley.

During his two-day tour here, Pulley met with young workers and students at a dinner hosted by the Young Socialist Alliance.

He also campaigned at the gates of Pullman-Standard, one of the largest plants here, organized by the United Steelworkers. Pulley himself is a member of United Steelworkers Local 1066 at U.S. Steel's Gary Works.

Pulley's tour was covered by the morning *Post-Herald* and the *Birmingham News*. He was also interviewed on local television.

By Tom Fiske

ATLANTA—"I've been following your campaign in the *Militant* and I want to wish you good luck." This was one steelworker's response to Andrew Pulley, who was campaigning outside the Atlantic Steel Plant here. Many workers stopped to talk with him while several campaign supporters passed out campaign material and sold copies of the *Militant*.

The next day Pulley and his supporters campaigned at the General Motors Lakewood plant. "That's my man," said one worker as he shook Pulley's hand. He had heard of Pulley only the week before when campaign supporters passed out hundreds of copies of the "Bill of Rights for Working People" and a flyer about Pulley's upcoming tour.

Pulley spoke to students in a class at the all-Black Atlanta University Complex. Many of the students were friendly to the idea of Pulley's campaign for president. They wanted to discuss whether it was realistic that Black and white workers could unite and build a better society.

Pulley explained how in the South the Jim Crow segregation system laid the basis for weakening the unions and maintaining low wages for all workers throughout the South. He pointed to the union victory in Newport News, Virginia, where Black and white workers united to wage a successful battle for recognition of the United Steelworkers.

Thirty people attended a rally that night where supporters pledged \$1,160 to the socialist campaign.

One young woman attending her first socialist meeting asked Pulley what he would do if elected. He explained one of the first things he would do would be to shut down all nuclear plants. "Well, I can't believe it. I never heard any other politician say that." Later, she explained to other campaign supporters how excited she was to find people not only talking about the things that concerned her but also doing something about it.

Fein campaign in labor paper

LABORER FOR MAYOR: The October issue of *Arizona Union News*, an independent labor publication, carried an article on Socialist Workers Party candidate Dan Fein entitled "Laborer puts in bid for Mayor." The article said:

"Dan Fein is a production worker at Capitol Castings and is a member of USWA Local 4102. Dan is also a candidate for Mayor of Phoenix. Part of Dan's platform is the repeal of the Right-To-Work Law, jobs for all, equal rights for Blacks, Chicanos and native Americans, ratification of the ERA and an end to nuclear power.

"Dan is actively trying to speak to union members at their meetings. He feels that a vote for him is a show of strength for labor and its goals. He has offered to debate with the mayor but has not had any response so far. "Dan points out that although technology has advanced and we can produce more in less time, that we still continue on the forty

hour work week. He would like to see it cut to thirty-five hours. He would also like to see construction stopped on Palo Verde [nuclear plant] and the crews put to work building bridges that the valley badly needs. An efficient mass transportation system is sorely needed. Workers spend a bigger share of their earnings just driving back and forth to work than ever before. At one dollar a gallon, a person is losing part of his check in order to get his check.

"Dan is having a meeting at 1243 E. McDowell at 8:00 p.m., on Oct. 27 if you'd like to hear more about what Dan Fein plans to do for you if elected."

FORD GETS A BETTER IDEA: Ford Motor Company has placed ads in *Newsweek* magazine inviting people to tour their auto plant facilities.

"Come and spend some time with us," reads the ad. "See how we put together engines that think for themselves. . . . By 1985 Ford Motor Company will have spent 20 billion dollars to reshape, rethink and reinvent the automobile."

What the ad doesn't tell you about is the recent layoffs that have left tens of thousands of auto workers jobless. Nor does it mention the overtime and speed-up that Ford, General Motors, and other auto makers impose on the reduced work force.

Socialist Workers Party candidates Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann want to take Ford up on their tour offer.

They have a different program than the Ford profit-mongers. The SWP program proposes doing away with

mandatory overtime. Instead, the work week should be reduced, with no cut in pay (including current overtime premiums). This would provide tens of thousands of new auto jobs.

If you work in a Ford plant and would like the SWP candidates to tour your plant, contact the national campaign office: Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

ORGANIZE THE SOUTH: "The fight by Steelworkers Local 8888 in Newport News, Virginia, to gain recognition from Tenneco is of historic importance in the battle to organize the South."

This was the message Andrew Pulley brought to North Carolina on the first leg of his fall campaign tour. Many people in the Piedmont area learned about the tour from the excellent media coverage he received.

"Working people must have their own unions," Pulley said in an article in the *Greensboro Daily News*. He continued, "I do not believe the Democrats and the Republicans, the owners of textile mills, and the bankers are capable of representing the working people. Working people need our own political power."

The article also reported that the socialist steelworker candidate stood for: "jobs for all people; tax the rich, not working people; stop the gas rip-off; defend abortion rights; defend affirmative action; and organize the South with labor unions."

The *Winston-Salem Journal* also picked up on this theme. "The Socialist Workers Party candidate for president said yesterday

that Southeastern workers and unions are now in the vanguard of the American labor movement."

More than forty people came to hear Pulley speak at the Agricultural and Technical State University. For many it was their first opportunity to hear a socialist candidate. Three people who came expressed interest in joining the Young Socialist Alliance.

VOTER PURGE: More than 1,700 Indianapolis voters signed petitions to place Socialist Workers Party mayoral candidate David Ellis on the November ballot.

However, due to a "voter registration purge" by Indianapolis election officials, over 1,000 of the signers were invalidated. Ellis was ruled off the ballot. The campaign committee was not informed of this action until after the deadline for handing in petitions.

The voter purge involved over 100,000 Indianapolis residents, the majority of whom live in Black townships within Marion county.

The irony is that many Blacks didn't bother to vote in the last election, where only Democrats and Republicans were on the ballot. Because they didn't vote their names were "purged" from the voter lists. Now the Democrats and Republicans are using this to prevent them from having any political alternative in this year's election as well.

Ellis, a member of Steelworkers Local 4315, has been campaigning in support of desegregation of Indianapolis schools. He protested the financial cutbacks of the CETA program,

which have reduced social services and thrown many Black workers out of their jobs.

Ellis's campaign supporters plan to continue their fight to get on the ballot. "We want to change these undemocratic laws," said Ellis. "We want to open up the ballot so that candidates like myself and labor party candidates that will begin to appear in the future can put forward the kind of program Indianapolis Black voters and working people will want to pull the lever for."

CAMPAIGN GETS INSIDE: We recently received this letter:

"I am a prisoner of the Dwight Correction Center for Women. Thanks to your wonderful prisoners fund I have been receiving the Militant for several months now. I cannot express just how much your paper means to myself and others here at the institution. We would like to know if there is anything we, 'as prisoners' can do to help in the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance.

"It only seems logical that we should be able to help in some way. Please let us know.

"Keep up the good work!" This "logical" enthusiasm is one we wholeheartedly endorse. In the 1980 election campaign we'd like to get inside and talk with these sisters and other prisoners about our socialist program.

If a group of prisoners would like to have a socialist candidate speak write: Socialist Workers Presidential Campaign Committee, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

—L. Paltrineri



DAN FEIN

Bill Natkin

SWP: only ticket for solidarity with Cuba

By Harry Ring

Partisans of the Cuban revolution and all opponents of U.S. aggression against Cuba should surely want to support the Socialist Workers Party's 1980 election campaign.

It is the only ticket that favors a policy of friendship with Cuba and exposes the government-inspired lies about Cuba that fill the big-business media.

On each leg of their campaign tours, Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann, the SWP standard-bearers, emphasize their defense of Cuba. Zimmermann and Pulley have defended the Cuban revolution through the pages of dailies from Bir-

mingham, Alabama, to Virginia, Minnesota.

And across the country, Pulley-Zimmermann supporters and local SWP candidates have been hitting hard on the Cuba issue.

In New York, SWP campaigners threw themselves into building the two "Welcome Fidel" demonstrations at the United Nations.

In San Diego, where Carter spoke recently, SWP campaigners were out picketing his presence. A leaflet declared: "Protest U.S. War Threats Against Cuba! Demand U.S. Emergency Aid to Nicaragua!"

In Minneapolis, Gail Swann, SWP candidate for mayor, responded to Carter's war-mongering "Soviet troops in Cuba" speech. Eleven radio stations reported her demand for an end to U.S. threats against Cuba.

Carter's speech was also responded to by Nora Danielson, socialist candidate for mayor of Philadelphia. She warned of the danger of "a new Vietnam."

In San Antonio, the *Express* quoted SWP congressional candidate Anthony González as declaring, "The Cuban revolution poses no threat to American working people. In fact, it stands as a shining example to us."

And the *San Antonio Light* reported González's attack on his opponent, Democrat Henry B. González.

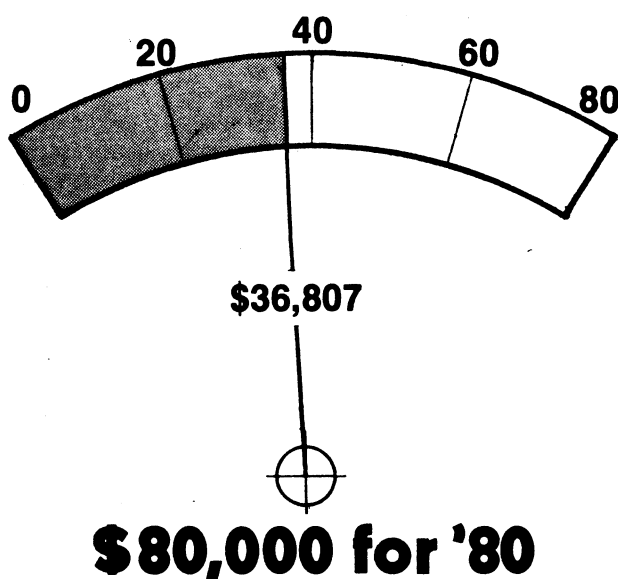
"The real threat to Cuba," Anthony González was quoted as saying, "is the United States. Henry B. González has not disassociated himself from Carter on that issue and has supported the war threats issued by the administration."

A wide hearing for the campaign's views on Cuba

occurred recently in Portland when Young Socialist Alliance national chair Cathy Sedwick appeared on a popular television call-in show. Sedwick, who talked about her recent visit to Cuba, is on national tour on behalf of the SWP ticket.

Within less than a month Pathfinder Press will have a pamphlet available with the full text of Castro's UN speech, plus an introduction by Pulley.

All of these efforts, certainly, require hard cash. Our \$80,000 election fund is the mainstay for this. If you want to help the SWP campaign continue to get out the truth on Cuba, please clip the coupon below.



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Speakers:

Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president

Matthew Herreshoff, SWP candidate for mayor, worker on Milwaukee Road

Saturday, November 3

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Andrew Pulley

candidate for president

Oct. 28-29 Cincinnati

Nov. 1-2 Cleveland

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Matilde Zimmermann

candidate for vice-president

Oct. 27-28 Denver

Nov. 1-2 Phoenix

Nov. 4-5 Houston

Other socialists on tour

Cathy Sedwick

Oct. 29, New York/

Nov. 1-3 New Jersey

Nov. 5, 8-9 Tidewater

Nov. 14-16 Twin Cities

Fred Halstead

Oct. 28-30 Bay Area

Nov. 2-4 Salt Lake City

Nov. 7-10 New Orleans

Héctor Marroquín

Oct. 27-28, 31 Albany

Nov. 9-11 Kansas City

Nov. 15-17 Iron Range

For more information call the Socialist Workers Party branch nearest you. See the directory on page 27 for phone numbers and addresses.

Pulley &
Zimmermann
in 1980!

Factory committees formed

Iran masses press fight for rights



Unemployed workers march in Tehran in April. Renewed protests around jobs and other issues are now forcing government to retreat on its crackdown.

By Fred Feldman

A big step-up in the struggles of workers, peasants, and oppressed nationalities in Iran is forcing the capitalist Khomeini-Bazargan government to back down from some of its attacks on civil liberties.

The Hezb-e Kargar-e Sosialist (HKS—Socialist Workers Party) held a news conference October 21 in Tehran. HKS leader Babak Zahraie protested the frame-up of members of the party (twelve men have been sentenced to death and two women given life terms) in Khuzestan Province.

The HKS revealed that three of the imprisoned socialists have been denied needed medical care. All fourteen have been barred access to radio, newspapers, and visitors. The HKS demanded an immediate end to this inhuman treatment and the transfer of all fourteen to Tehran.

The party also called for the head of the Islamic Revolutionary Courts to review the cases.

The news conference was front-page news in *Baamdad* and *Ettela'at*, two major dailies. *Ettela'at* headlined its story, "Socialists Imprisoned for Beliefs."

On October 20 the Committee to Defend Political Prisoners held a news conference to demand the freeing of 1,500 political prisoners—most of them in Kurdistan and Khuzestan, where oppressed nationalities have been demanding the right to autonomy.

There was no attempt by rightist thugs to disrupt either news conference—a contrast to the free rein given these progovernment gangs by Khomeini and Bazargan only two months ago.

A rally of 10,000 at Tehran University organized by the Tudeh Party also took place without any attacks.

Popular resistance to repressive measures was reflected in a conference of Islamic judges held in Qum two weeks ago. Many judges voiced opposition to arrests without charges, executions for violations of "morality," and right-wing hooliganism.

Making a concession to this pressure, the Ayatollah Khomeini promised October 10 that no executions would be carried out for the time being. He did not commute any existing death sentences, however, and the moratorium can be lifted by Khomeini at any time.

The regime also beat a retreat from the all-out attack it launched against freedom of the press last August 18, when dozens of newspapers and periodicals were shut down.

Twenty-one newspapers are now publishing legally. Among them are *Mardom*, the daily paper of the pro-Moscow Tudeh Party, and *Voice of the People*, a pro-Peking journal.

The HKS is pressing for the right to resume publication of its weekly paper *Kargar*, which had won growing popularity among workers before the crackdown.

These advances in the fight to maintain the rights won in the battle

against the shah occur against the backdrop of a sharp rise in the class struggle.

A new popular uprising is taking place in the cities and villages of Kurdistan, which were occupied by government troops and Pasdaran (Islamic Revolutionary Guards) after Khomeini declared a "crusade" against the Kurdish people at the end of August. As of October 21 Kurdish fighters were reported to be in control of most of Mehabad, including the army barracks.

The regime failed to maintain the chauvinist fervor it tried to whip up against the Kurds. Slogans have appeared and meetings in solidarity with the Kurds' just demands have taken place at some universities.

A representative of the "Imam's office" in Qum, who was sent to Kurdistan to investigate the situation, has publicly denounced the massacres perpetrated against the Kurdish people during Khomeini's "crusade." He pointed to the slaughter of the entire population of the village of Gharna—more than eighty people—as an example.

Land seizures in southern Kurdistan—which Khomeini sought to crush with his anti-Kurdish drive—have continued and spread to the southern districts of neighboring Azerbaijan.

Unrest is not limited to the oppressed nationalities. In the Caspian Sea port of Bandar-e-Enzeli, thousands protested a government ban on fishermen plying their trade. The ban was an effort to guarantee a monopoly for the state-owned fisheries.

Ten people were killed October 16 when the Pasdaran fired on a protest of 5-10,000 people. Fighting spread throughout the city and demonstrations grew, demanding the punishment of the Pasdaran. The police headquarters was burned to the ground.

A demonstration of 10,000 took place in the neighboring city of Rasht.

As it became clear that repression would not be enough to stop the uprising, Khomeini issued an order rescinding the ban against the local fishermen.

Two members of the HKS were arrested during the demonstrations in Bandar-e-Enzeli and questioned by Pasdaran. One of the socialists had run an election campaign for the local city council, in which the HKS also backed independent fishermen candidates.

After talking to the guards about their politics, the HKS members were able to win over some of the Pasdaran. The government not only had to release the socialists, but had to order them expelled from the barracks where they were continuing to hold discussions with the Pasdaran.

Across Iran, workers are looking for effective ways to combat growing unemployment, rising prices, poor housing, and blatant sabotage of the economy by the capitalists.

The nationalization of many industries July 5 led to a discussion among workers of the need for *shoras*, or factory committees, to express the interests of workers in the nationalized plants. The call for *shoras* was a theme in the September 10 demonstrations of mourning for the late Ayatollah Taleghani of Tehran, who is said to have advocated their formation.

Since the nationalizations, many workers believe that "if the factories belong to us, then we should be the ones to decide how they are run."

The new factory committees vary from plant to plant. In some, progovernment forces and more conservative technicians have the upper hand, while in others production workers are playing an increasingly dominant role.

Shoras have spread from the factories of Tehran to the steel industry of Isfahan, as well as to other cities.

At the General Motors Plant in Tehran, the *shora* ordered cuts in the salaries of overpaid administrators, while tripling the wages of the lowest-paid workers. Company files were opened. Efforts are being made to establish collaboration with *shoras* in other factories in order to begin production of a compact, four-cylinder car when the contract with the U.S. owners of GM runs out three months from now.

The *shora* is demanding a government takeover of land owned by the proprietor of the GM plant. They want the land used to build inexpensive housing for workers.

At another Tehran plant, workers have opened company files and pasted the contents along the factory walls for all to see.

Interest in socialist ideas has grown among the workers. They know they played a decisive role in bringing down the shah, and are increasingly aware that they must play a role in solving the economic problems of the country today.

Because of this, the HKS has been able to deepen its roots among industrial workers despite the repression launched against it.

The experiences of the past months show that despite the blows struck by the Khomeini-Bazargan government, the Iranian revolution has not been crushed and continues to deepen. The decisive battles between the imperialists—and their capitalist and landlord allies—and the Iranian workers and farmers lie ahead.

Free the socialists

Telegrams and petitions protesting the death sentences given the twelve Socialist Workers Party prisoners and demanding the immediate release of all fourteen should be sent to Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, Qum, Iran; Prime Minister Mehdi Bazargan, Tehran, Iran; Ayatollah Shariat-Madari, Qum, Iran; Ayatollah Ghodsi, Prosecutor General, Tehran, Iran; and the Majlise Hebragon (Council of Experts), Tehran, Iran.

Copies should be sent to the Tehran daily *Baamdad*, Hafez Avenue, 24 Zartoshtian Alley, Tehran, Iran; *Ettela'at*, Khayam Avenue, Tehran, Iran; and *Kayhan*, Ferdowsi Avenue, Tehran, Iran. These newspapers have been publishing the texts of the telegrams they receive.

Copies should also be sent to the Committee to Save the Iranian 14, 200 Park Avenue South, Room 812, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 260-0574. Financial contributions are urgently needed to continue the committee's efforts.

Militant sales & defense of Nicaragua

By Harvey McArthur

We are now in the final stretch of our fourteen-week-long campaign to increase the circulation of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*. This is a good occasion to take stock of what we've accomplished so far and what is needed to successfully complete the drive. This includes plans for a national subscription target week, November 3-11.

Our most notable achievement is the unique role the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are playing to help build the Nicaragua solidarity campaign.

Several readers have recently questioned our heavy emphasis on Nicaragua and Cuba this fall. They agreed that this coverage was important but thought it might be a bit unbalanced and wondered if it wouldn't be better to cut it down or at least make news about struggles in the United States more prominent.

We, of course, think there are many important issues and struggles. We have tried to cover them as well as possible given our space considerations. But the fact is that the developments in Nicaragua are at the center of the world revolution.

Central task

This means that there is no task today more important for a socialist newspaper and socialist activists than the campaign for political and material solidarity for the Nicaraguan people.

As part of this campaign the *Militant's* role has been one of providing facts and analysis about what's happening in Nicaragua. In this respect the *Militant* is unsurpassed by any newspaper in the country, including those with far greater resources.

For instance, during the entire week of October 8-13 the *New York Times*, which has a large staff of foreign correspondents and is published daily, printed only one article on Nicaragua. And that was only 19 column inches long.

On the other hand, the *Militant* that week carried five articles totaling 214 column inches. And this has essentially been the pattern since Somoza was overthrown four months ago.

The *Militant* is the only newspaper in the country to publish in full the Nicaraguan Bill of Rights, Sandinista leader Daniel Ortega's speech to the Conference of Nonaligned Nations, and Fidel Castro's speeches on July 26, at the Nonaligned Conference, and to the United Nations.

The *Militant*, with its limited resources, has pierced the wall of silence by the capitalist press on Nicaragua.

Why have the capitalist rulers imposed this blackout? Because they know that silence about Nicaragua is one of their most effective weapons against the revolution. They hope that this lack of coverage will cause Americans who would be inspired by the revolution, if they knew the facts, to ignore Nicaragua and to feel that they have no interest in organizing aid for it.

But the *Militant* not only has had more coverage than any other newspaper in the country, but better coverage. Better because it's honest. The facts themselves, we believe, are the best weapon for activists campaigning for aid to Nicaragua.

The *Militant* has a proud tradition of responding to revolutions in this "unbalanced" manner. During the first period of the Cuban revolution, for example, the *Militant* devoted a considerable amount of space to reporting and analyzing the unfolding developments there and reprinting speeches by Castro, Che Guevara, and Osvaldo Dorticos.

But in those years—1959, 1960, 1961—the *Militant* published only four pages weekly, with a special eight-page



Militant/Marc Lichtman
Caryn Swann, member of southern sales team, discusses Nicaragua with workers in Bluefield, West Virginia. Team has been selling and campaigning for socialist candidates in Piedmont area and coalfields.

issue once in a while. We were able to send reporters to Cuba only a few times for short visits. In Nicaragua we've had a full-time reporter since August.

In 1959, the *Militant* had no Spanish voice. Today, it has a twice-monthly sister publication, *Perspectiva Mundial*.

It is no surprise that sales people in Portland and Kansas City report that activists in Nicaragua solidarity committees and workers on the job interested in Nicaragua "all read the *Militant* and *PM*" and that they "turn to them every week for the latest news and analysis."

As the revolution advances, and as the stakes involved become clearer to more and more American workers, we will win even more friends and supporters because of this consistent coverage and sales activity.

This explanation of our Nicaragua coverage helps show why members of the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance devote so much of our attention to planning, organizing, and carrying out sales of the *Militant* and *PM*. This activity fits hand and glove with—is a necessary part of—effectively advancing the principal campaigns we're involved in.

Sales at political events

The circulation drive this fall has marked important progress in the number of papers being sold to industrial workers on the job and at plant gates.

This fall has also seen a number of demonstrations and conferences, both national and local, around a broad range of issues, including nuclear power, the energy crisis, women's liberation, gay rights, and Nicaragua. Socialist activists have participated in these actions and sold a significant number of papers at them. Some of the highlights are:

- 217 copies of *PM* were sold at the rally to greet the four Puerto Rican Nationalists in New York on September 11;

- On September 16, 155 copies of *PM* were sold at the Mexican Independence Day rally in Houston;

- On September 23, 760 *Militants* and 164 *Young Socialists* were sold at the antinuclear demonstration of 250,000 in New York City;

- 250 copies of the *Militant* and 25 subscriptions were sold at the National Organization for Women national convention in Los Angeles on October 5-7;

- 300 copies of the *Militant* were sold at the national gay rights demonstration in Washington, D.C., on October 14;

- Hundreds of papers were sold at

the October 17 protests against "Big Oil" in many cities across the country, including sixty-three to 300 participants in Charleston, West Virginia.

At the present time we are behind where we should be if we are to make our goal of selling 150,000 papers by November 25.

Subscription target week

The main factor behind this shortfall is that we have sold fewer subscriptions so far than we had projected. Approximately 1,000 subscriptions have been received by the circulation office, about 200 from on-the-job sales. Our goal is 6,000, including 1,500 to co-workers.

A large number of areas have been doing well on making their weekly quotas of individual copies.

This is why we are projecting a national subscription target week November 3-11. On that week, selling subscriptions will be our number one priority. Special efforts should be made to sell subscriptions to co-workers, and to send teams to working-class neighborhoods and to campuses.

Two cities that have done particularly well so far in subscription sales are Portland and Kansas City. Their experiences may be helpful to other areas in planning the national target week.

"We always emphasize trying to get other workers to subscribe to the paper," says Fred Auger, Portland sales director. "We find that if we keep talking with someone who likes the paper, it is not hard to get them to subscribe."

"We also followed up on some of the

thirty-two people who bought introductory subscriptions in the plant last year. This is a good way to get longer-term subscriptions. So far it has yielded three one-year subscriptions.

"But most of our subscriptions have come from campus teams.

"We kept going back to the dorms of Lewis and Clark College and a few other schools. By now the *Militant* is the radical paper at Lewis and Clark.

Kansas City has had some good experiences selling subscriptions through door-to-door canvassing. They have been campaigning for Pulley and Zimmermann, and selling Pulley's pamphlet *How I Became a Socialist*, along with the *Militant* and *PM*.

"We had to learn where the best places are to sell," says Bruce Lesnick, the sales director. "We had been selling the *Militant* and *PM* in the Chicano community on the Missouri side of Kansas City, but found that sales were often slow, especially of subscriptions."

"Once we tried the Kansas side however, we discovered that lots of Chicanos who worked on the railroads lived there, and they were very interested in our press and campaign. *PM* sales in particular have shot up, and we have sold five or six *PM* subscriptions."

"We can often tell a good neighborhood for subbing by first selling at shopping centers. The *Militant* is well known at several large plants here, and when two or three people that you meet at a shopping center say, 'Oh, I've seen that at Armco Steel,' then you know you have found an area where a lot of industrial workers live and where sales will be good."

Cumulative scoreboard

City	Single Copy Sales			Sub. Pts.	Goal	Total Sales		% Ind.
	Mil	PM	Total			Sold	%	
Kansas City	1410	85	1495	815	2400	2310	96.2	8.0
Portland	877	7	884	880	2000	1764	88.2	6.7
Salt Lake City	1110	53	1163	325	1800	1488	82.6	5.1
Dallas	1133	471	1604	475	2700	2079	77.0	12.9
Detroit	2011	49	2060	1070	4500	3130	69.5	35.1
Atlanta	1064	15	1079	85	1750	1164	66.5	11.8
Iron Range	751	0	751	460	1900	1211	63.7	28.3
New Orleans	717	31	748	250	1600	998	62.3	18.8
Washington, DC	1144	501	1645	190	3000	1835	61.1	4.6
Birmingham	1342	0	1342	120	2400	1462	60.9	15.4
Cincinnati	718	2	720	230	1600	950	59.3	19.3
Seattle	1484	48	1532	225	3000	1757	58.5	12.7
Indianapolis	872	0	872	120	1700	992	58.3	12.7
Morgantown	1049	0	1049	110	2000	1159	57.9	16.2
Gary	807	59	866	270	2000	1136	56.8	18.0
Albuquerque	1238	258	1496	175	3100	1671	53.9	8.0
St. Louis	819	6	825	260	2100	1085	51.6	17.6
Denver	797	141	938	340	2500	1278	51.1	8.6
Tacoma	1088	19	1107	170	2500	1277	51.0	13.1
San Diego	902	201	1103	215	2600	1318	50.6	23.6
Cleveland	598	121	719	30	1500	749	49.9	28.5
Pittsburgh	1818	3	1821	210	4200	2031	48.3	27.1
Albany	756	52	808	250	2200	1058	48.0	21.9
Piedmont	661	0	661	60	1500	721	48.0	13.4
Chicago	1767	317	2084	370	5400	2454	45.4	32.4
Los Angeles	1641	665	2306	530	6250	2836	45.3	12.7
Baltimore	704	2	706	85	1750	791	45.2	29.6
New York City	3678	1422	5100	1195	14000	6295	44.9	6.5
Newark	1374	238	1612	490	4700	2102	44.7	9.9
Oakland/Berkeley	1020	230	1250	370	3750	1620	43.2	6.4
San Francisco	1108	390	1498	200	4000	1698	42.4	7.2
Louisville	931	2	933	185	2700	1118	41.4	22.8
Boston	969	74	1043	275	3300	1318	39.9	5.7
Phoenix	711	332	1043	215	3200	1258	39.3	22.9
Twin Cities	1120	7	1127	420	4000	1547	38.6	14.4
Milwaukee	656	89	745	250	2600	995	38.2	7.5
Miami	726	248	974	95	2800	1069	38.1	4.7
Ann Arbor	50	12	62	0	170	62	36.5	0.0
San Antonio	420	100	520	95	1700	615	36.1	33.6
Philadelphia	1254	205	1459	180	4600	1639	35.6	15.6
Houston	585	203	788	255	3300	1043	31.6	21.3
Toledo	683	23	706	10	2400	716	29.8	31.1
Tidewater	593	0	593	220	3000	813	27.1	14.5
San Jose	397	184	581	0	2500	581	23.2	6.5
Miscellaneous	208	0	208	1645	0	1853	0	0
TOTALS	45,761	6,865	52,626	14,420	150,000	67,046	44.7	15.1

Covers sales through issue no. 40 of the *Militant* and the first week of sales of issue no. 19 of *Perspectiva Mundial*. The drive is now 64.3 percent completed.

% Ind. Indicates percentage of total sold at plant gates and to coworkers on the job.

Why workers read Militant & PM

One big success of the fall sales campaign is the sharp increase in the number of *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* sold to industrial workers at their plant gates and on the job.

We are averaging 1,109 papers in industrial sales each week, well above the 700 average of last spring's campaign. Six areas now sell more than 30 percent of their papers at big plants, and eleven sell more than 20 percent.

But much more important than the statistics alone is the political activity that they reflect.

The *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* are becoming part of the radicalization of American workers. When it comes to Cuba, Nicaragua, or Iran, the auto contract, energy crisis, or layoffs, the socialist press is proving to be an important tool in the hands of the growing number of socialist workers in the big mines, mills, and plants.

Why do so many workers read the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*?

"I want to get a subscription so I can keep up with my man Pulley," says a steelworker in Baltimore.

"Because *Perspectiva Mundial* is the place to find out about Nicaragua," says a shipyard worker in Brooklyn.

"I subscribe to *Ebony* and *Jet*," says a Black machinist in Portland, "but the *Militant* is the only place where I can find out about police attacks on the Black community and other things that are really important to me."

"Some workers read it mostly for the union coverage," says Steve Knox, an auto worker in Philadelphia. "They buy it because it is a workers' paper and gives them a workers' point of view."

To get more details on the role the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* have among industrial workers today, we talked with socialists who

sell it regularly in big plants around the country. The experiences of those working at Solar Turbine and Rohr Industries in San Diego seem typical of many others.

San Diego has been doing well in the sales drive, making its weekly quota six out of eight times, and averaging 23 percent industrial sales.

Raúl González, a member of International Association of Machinists Local 685 at the Solar Turbine plant, says that there is a lot of discussion about Cuba in his plant. "Workers know where I stand, since they know the *Militant* by now, and many have come up to talk about Cuba with me."

González says that Nicaragua is a little harder to get into discussions about, because of the blackout in the daily press.

"But when I do get a discussion

going, most other workers look at it favorably. And the Bill of Rights of Nicaragua, which the *Militant* printed, got a very good reception.

"We also sell *Perspectiva Mundial* as much as possible. Even though only 5 percent of the workers at Solar are Latino, between ten and fifteen read *PM* regularly."

"The *Militant* was also important in our work in defense of the Iranian Socialist Workers Party members imprisoned in Iran. We got fifty to sixty of our co-workers to sign telegrams and petitions, and we always had to use the *Militant* to explain what was going on there. The articles on Iran were read regularly: many workers who signed the petitions followed them from week to week, and would come up to us to talk about it."

Kathryn Crowder, who is a member of IAM Local 755 at the

Rohr Industries plant, pointed out how much effort she and other socialists put into circulating the *Militant*, *Perspectiva Mundial*, and the *Young Socialist*. "We sell at our plant gates at least once a week, as well as talk to people whenever we can."

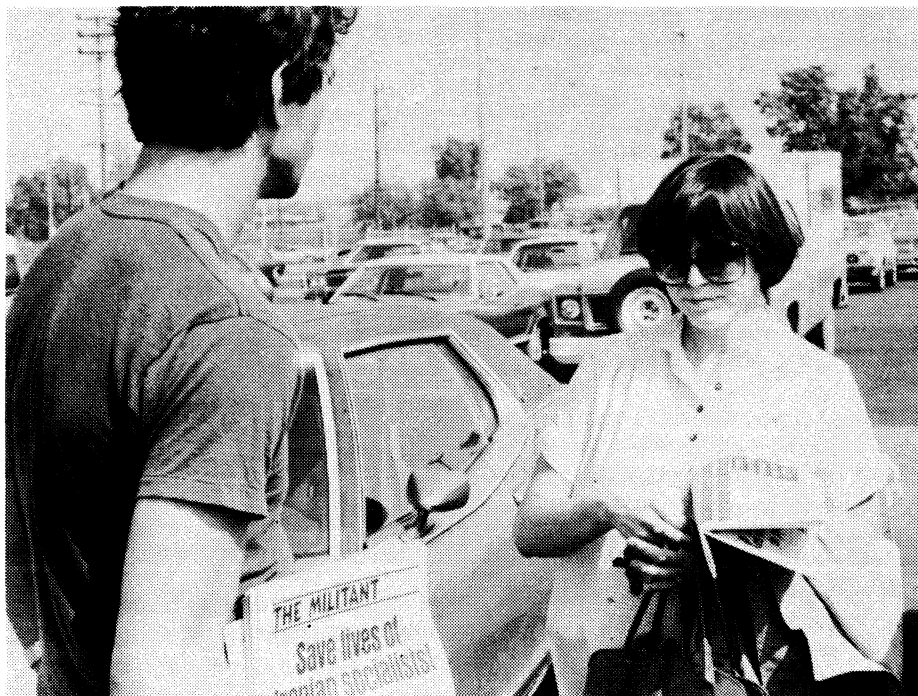
"The day before our plant gate sale, I remind the workers in my department that we'll be out there the next day. Many of them make a point of coming early and hanging out with us, talking and buying the paper."

"We make a big push to get regular readers to buy subscriptions. Even on the plant gate sales, I usually start off asking someone to buy a subscription. This way we get our regular readers subscribing, and can reach out to workers we haven't met before with single copy sales."

Raúl adds that they have between twenty-five and thirty subscribers at Solar now. "Some of these readers clip out articles that they especially like, and hang them up on the tool crib for other workers to see," he adds. This happened a lot, for instance, with articles on my campaign for mayor of San Diego, with the short piece on the enormous salaries that top corporate executives get, and with the article on workers getting busted for drugs."

"And workers don't like to see the company trying to interfere with their co-workers who sell the *Militant*. One of the socialists in my plant had a bundle of the *Young Socialists* confiscated by a security guard. The guard told him he could pick the papers up at the guard house at the end of the shift. When we got word of this around the plant, seven to eight other workers, most of them subscribers to the *Militant*, came with us to the guard house to see that he got his papers back, and that there were no further hassles."

—H.M.



Selling at a Detroit auto plant. 'Militant' helps win support for socialist prisoners in Iran.

Union resolution backs antinuclear march

At its convention earlier this year, Region 4—Mid-Atlantic—of the United Food & Commercial Workers union, representing nearly 100,000 workers, unanimously approved a strongly-worded resolution condemning nuclear power. The resolution also voiced support for the April 26, 1980, antinuclear march on Washington that has been called by a broad coalition of antinuclear groups.

The vote reaffirmed "opposition to the use of nuclear power in the absence of safeguards against radiation poisoning, safe permanent waste storage sites, and protection against catastrophic nuclear accidents."

The convention heard presentations on the dangers of nuclear power from Prof. Michio Kaku of the City University of New York and antinuclear activist Ada Sanchez prior to the vote.

"There are a solid bunch of antinuclear enthusiasts in this Region," Jerry Gordon, executive assistant to regional director Leon Schachter, told the *Militant*.

Printed below is the text of the resolution.

WHEREAS a number of scientists, physicians, environmentalists and citizens groups from across the country are very concerned about the structural safety of nuclear plants, worker exposure to radiation, and the environmental and biological contamination of the U.S. through radioactive mill tailings, inadequate waste storage and transport of radioactive materials; and

WHEREAS the Three-Mile Island accident proved that nuclear power plants are not fail-safe and revealed the tremendous unreliability of nuclear safety studies; and

WHEREAS Three-Mile Island is only one of many near meltdowns that have marred the history of nuclear power. Nuclear power plants are constantly developing cracks, leaks, and other structural defects that could lead to serious malfunctions; and

WHEREAS a "meltdown" in a nuclear reactor could release a reactor's radioactive contents into the atmosphere, killing 50,000 people immediately. Many more thousands of lives would be lost over countless generations as well as contaminating thousands of square miles for an indefinite period of time; and

WHEREAS renowned physicians and scientists testified in the recent Karen Silkwood trial that any amount of radiation can lead to cancer, leukemia and genetic damage. Plutonium is so toxic that less than 1-millionth of a gram can cause cancer; and

WHEREAS each reactor annually produces tons of radioactive waste, including 400-500 lbs. of plutonium yearly. Some of the radioactive waste remains dangerous for more than 500,000 years. No permanent, safe method of disposal or storage has yet been found; and

WHEREAS plutonium is the basic raw material needed for the fabrication of atomic bombs and each reactor yearly produces enough to make 40 such weapons, making nuclear power plants a target for terrorist groups; and

WHEREAS truck and rail shipments of thousands of spent fuel rods to waste storage sites pose the threat of sabotage, accidents and hijacking; and

WHEREAS nuclear power supplies less than 4% of our total energy. It is inefficient, unreliable, and has caused a serious drain on this country's capital resources because of huge cost overruns; and

WHEREAS to achieve a full employment economy we must develop noninflationary energy sources; and

WHEREAS no other program could be designed to better serve the national interest and the people's interest than achieving full employment through the development of alternative, labor-intensive energy sources; and

WHEREAS development of conservation, solar energy, co-generation, biomass, small hydro and

wind power would create several million jobs. According to the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, 2-4 times more jobs per dollar will be created by solar investment than by nuclear investment; and

WHEREAS if we begin to subsidize other energy technologies on the same basis and in the same magnitude we squandered money on nuclear energy, we would have the alternatives tomorrow; and

WHEREAS based upon the above factors, the Executive Board of District 2 (Region 4, Mid-Atlantic) on March 5, 1979 unanimously adopted a resolution against the use of nuclear power unless and until it has been proven reasonably safe; and

WHEREAS labor, environmentalists and citizens groups have joined together to sponsor a national march in Washington, D.C. on April 26, 1980 to demand a halt in the development of nuclear power until safety and health issues have been resolved; now therefore be it

RESOLVED that District 2 (Region 4, Mid-Atlantic) reaffirms its opposition to the use of nuclear power in the absence of safeguards against radiation poisoning, safe permanent waste storage sites, and protection against catastrophic nuclear accidents; and be it further

RESOLVED that District 2 (Region 4, Mid-Atlantic) supports and will assist in developing an energy educational campaign throughout the labor movement in line with this resolution; and be it further

RESOLVED that District 2 (Region 4, Mid-Atlantic) endorses and will help build the April 26 march; and be it further

RESOLVED that a copy of this resolution be sent to the International president and all members of the UFCW International Executive Board with the recommendation that the position taken by District 2 (Region 4, Mid-Atlantic) on nuclear power be adopted by the entire International Union.

Harrisburg—six months

By Arnold Weissberg

HARRISBURG, Pa.—“The industry would like us to think the incident’s over,” says Cathie Musser, holding her nineteen-month-old daughter Jennifer. We’re sitting in the Musser living room, sipping coffee. Jennifer’s toys are here and there. Looking through the sliding glass doors into the big green backyard, the thirty-seven-story cooling towers of Three Mile Island seem far away.

Even as we speak, though, radioactive water pours into holding tanks there, and radioactive gases continue filling up the containment building. Six months after the partial meltdown at Three Mile Island, the reactor is still not under full control, and is still giving off dangerous radiation. Four hundred thousand gallons of radioactive water have to be disposed of. And more than two million cubic feet of radioactive krypton gas are held in the containment building.

Metropolitan Edison, operator of the plant, would like to let the krypton out, reassuring the public that there’s no danger. The company has a scheme, it insists, that will clean up the water and make it OK to dump it in the Susquehanna River.

Met Ed’s problem is twofold. First, the radioactive water and gas from the crippled Unit II have just about filled the storage space available. When that



Militant/Arnold Weissberg
Cathie Musser and daughter Jennifer.
“The industry would like us to think the incident is over.”

fills up, the stuff will have to be stored in Unit I. That means Unit I can’t be operated. And if Unit I doesn’t operate, Met Ed faces a big financial loss—maybe even bankruptcy.

Met Ed’s other problem is the bitter, deepgoing opposition in the entire Harrisburg area to its schemes.

Since the accident began last March 28, antinuclear groups have sprung up in towns throughout the area.

Cathy Musser is a member of one of those new groups, Concerned Citizens of Londonderry.

Having driven over rolling countryside for forty-five minutes from downtown Harrisburg to get here, I am surprised to learn we are only five miles downwind from Three Mile Island.

Both the Mussers’ home and Three Mile Island are in Londonderry Township.

Concerned Citizens is “basically working people,” Musser tells me. It’s managed to get the township supervisors to pass a resolution demanding fulfillment of twelve conditions before either Three Mile Island Unit I or Unit II can be reopened. Concerned Citizens also gathered 1,000 signatures on a petition calling for permanent shut-down of both units.

It’s a personal matter with the people in Londonderry. The psychological effects of the accident are still making themselves felt. One of Musser’s neighbors “threw up for five days after the accident,” she says.

“The anxiety and stress that’s still going on will cause some physical illness,” Musser says. People have gone through “hysteria, terror, and outrage.” Musser tells me she had nightmares for a month after the accident.

“Having a child makes the whole thing ten times worse,” Musser says. “It’s really an outrage that this may have risked the children’s life and health.”

Her activity with Concerned Citizens of Londonderry led Musser to investigate nuclear power and its alternatives. “Nuclear power is going to do nothing but kill us. If we’re chilly, or even cold, it’s better than nuclear power.”

* * *

We’re at Pennsylvania State University’s Middletown campus, right next to Three Mile Island. Fred Halstead is speaking. A member of the Socialist Workers Party national committee, Halstead visited Harrisburg during the accident last March. He was a leader of the movement against the war in Vietnam and wrote a book, *Out Now*, about it. Halstead brings his years of experience to the movement against nuclear power. Now he’s touring the country on behalf of the SWP candidates for president and vice-president, Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann.

“The big corporations are stuck with a huge investment in nuclear power,” Halstead says. “They don’t want to see their \$150 billion go down the tubes. But ordinary people—working people—don’t have any stake in keeping those plants operating. We don’t have any stocks in those companies or any big investments to protect.”

Halstead talks to the forty people in the audience about the radiation that was released during the Three Mile Island accident. “No amount of radiation is good for you,” he emphasizes. “And no one can tell you exactly how much you were exposed to, because they weren’t set up to measure it at the beginning. Of course,” Halstead goes on, “it’s pretty clear the doses were relatively low. But that doesn’t mean they were harmless.”

Halstead proposes coal as an alternative to nuclear power. “There’s plenty of coal, and it can be mined safely and burned cleanly. There are coal miners ready, willing, and able to dig it. And the worst disaster at a coal-fired generating plant is minor compared to nuclear accidents,” he explains.

* * *

The phone rings again in the Three Mile Island Alert Office, and staffer Louise Bradford goes into the other room to answer it.

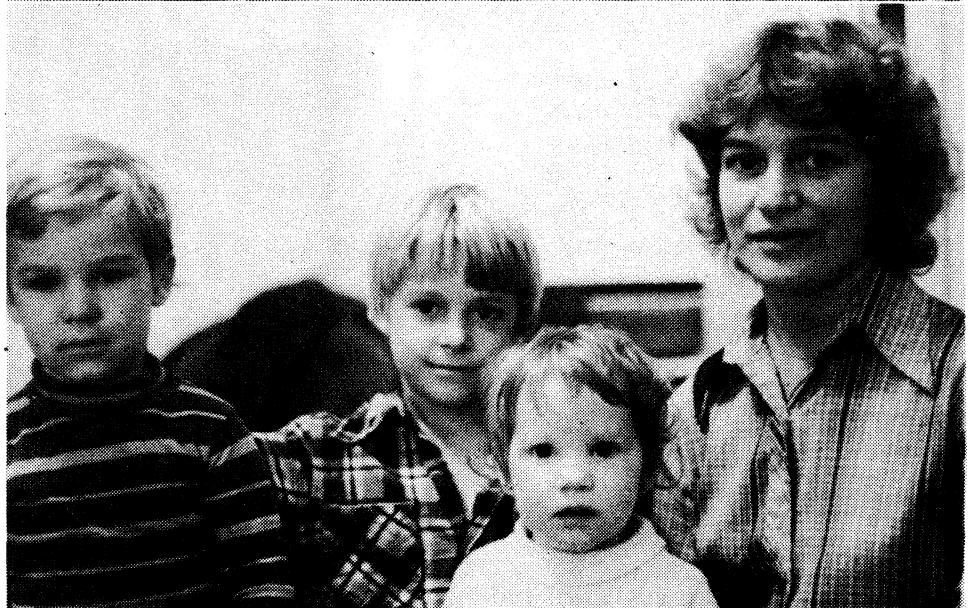
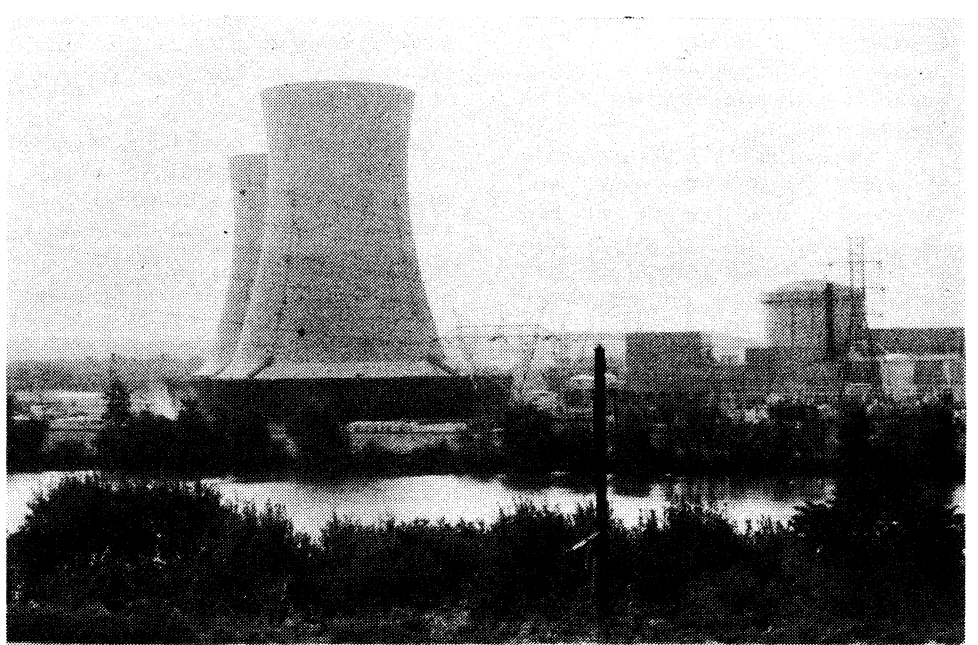
Three Mile Island Alert has tremendous moral authority because it fought against the plant *before* the accident. Right now, staff volunteer Kay Pickering was telling me before the phone rang, TMIA has 273 people who pay fifteen-dollar-a-month dues.

“Two hundred and seventy-five,” Bradford had corrected her. “Two more came in today.”

Bradford just answered a call from a woman who was moving out of the Harrisburg area with her husband and children. They were life-long area residents. “She said they weren’t sure if they’d have a job to go to,” Bradford says. “She asked me to send them a map of nuclear power plants in the country so they can move somewhere that isn’t near one.”

That’s the twelfth family she knows of that’s moving, Bradford says, “and that’s just the tip of the iceberg.”

Bradford tells me about another call she got, from a single mother with two small children, living in Middletown. “We talked for an hour and she broke



Militant photos by Arnold Weissberg
Top, crippled Three Mile Island Unit II viewed from observation post. Bottom, Cathy Conrad and children.

into tears four times,” Bradford said. “She kept saying, ‘I can’t deal with it.’ She wanted me to give her good news.”

“Fear calls are common,” Pickering says.

What kind of organizing is going on? I ask Pickering. Her laugh tells me the answer would take longer than I have time to hear. “Things are happening every day,” she says. A glance at the bulletin board tells the story: a meeting in Royalton, October 2, 7 p.m.; Londonderry Township, October 4, 7 p.m.; the TMIA labor task force, October 4, 7 p.m. And so on through the month.

* * *

Two Harrisburg area unions have passed resolutions against nuclear power. One of them is Chocolate Workers Local 464 in Hershey, an affiliate of the Bakery, Confectionary, and Tobacco Workers union. Susan Barley, twenty-four, an electrician at Hershey Foods, brought the resolution to the union’s executive board last June.

“This is a conservative area,” Barley thinks. “But we have to make decisions about nuclear power. We can’t pretend it’s just a little chocolate town.”

The resolution calls for keeping Three Mile Island closed, for a comprehensive health survey of area residents, and for the full liability for the accident to be borne by Met Ed, General Public Utilities, its parent company, and their stockholders.

Hershey is about fifteen miles from the reactor.

“When the accident happened, I was in a state of shock,” Barley recalls. Hershey cancelled weekend overtime, she says, “and that’s when I got scared. The last time they closed the plant was in 1972, when it was under water during the floods.”

The accident sent shock waves through the whole area. “Lots of people want to leave, but they can’t because of jobs or money,” she says. Now, “more and more people are get-

ting angry.” Many people “never thought about Three Mile Island until the accident, and then they were enraged.”

Her fight, Barley says, is not just against one plant. “We’re fighting the industry and the government,” she explains. “It’s going to be a long educational fight.”

Barley is no stranger to fighting. She’s one of a handful of women in the skilled trades at her plant. Fighting her way into the trades led her to join the National Organization for Women. “I needed support,” she says simply. Barley is packing to leave the next day for NOW’s national convention in Los Angeles because “NOW needs the unions and the unions need us.”

“We might never shut the nukes down,” Barley says, “and we might never pass the Equal Rights Amendment, and we might get a fetal life amendment to the constitution, but I’ve got to do something or die trying.”

* * *

The other local union that’s come out against nuclear power is American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Local 972, which represents state workers. John Sislo, a shop steward, was the moving force behind the action.

The resolution, which was also passed by AFSCME District Council 90 last August, expresses “opposition to the continued use of nuclear generated-electricity plants.”

The resolution also voices “support of conversion to coal burning plants and the substitution of solar and other renewable fuels until all nuclear plants are phased out.”

Sislo and Barley are both activists in the Three Mile Island Alert labor task force. The task force has about twenty members, from unions including the United Steelworkers, plumbers, and Pennsylvania Social Services Union.

The task force is planning to put out an educational package on the dangers of nuclear power, aimed at working

later

people. It hopes to hold a series of meetings, starting early next year, to explain to workers how nuclear power relates to them.

* * *

A few hundred yards from Three Mile Island stands the Met Ed "observation post," a two-story frame building with a deck and free binoculars, the kind where you usually pay ten cents for thirty seconds. From here there's a great view of the twin nuclear plants of Three Mile Island.

Three Mile Island is a tourist attraction, and Met Ed wants to make the most of it. You won't be "educated" by Met Ed's exhibits—but you'll get a good dose of pronuclear propaganda.

It's a disarming, casual setting, with free coffee. Met Ed has a videotape that shows every half hour or so, introduced by a young guy in a rugby shirt. The tape is "not professionally produced," he explains, and was "put together by some Met Ed employees." It "explains" the accident.

The tape never discusses the 150,000 people who evacuated, or the estimates that as many as 300 people may die of cancer as a result of the accident.

"Minimal risks," the tape declares, quoting a government investigation.

But the tape doesn't quote the whole report. It leaves out the fact that the study only covered the period up to April 7, although radiation emission continued past that day. It leaves out the fact that only "a relatively small number of measurements" were made. It leaves out the fact that the instruments used couldn't distinguish between the very harmful alpha radiation and the less harmful gamma.

Antinuclear groups take turns at the observation center passing out leaflets exposing Met Ed's lies.

For anyone familiar with the dangers of nuclear radiation, it isn't too hard to figure out Met Ed's angle right away. One of the company's "educational" exhibits reads: "URANIUM, a gift of mother nature, is mined, processed, enriched and made into a fuel capable of powering the nuclear reactor—a natural resource from the earth for the benefit of man."

On the way out, there's stack of copies of a New York *Daily News* editorial denouncing Tom Hayden and Jane Fonda, who began a national speaking tour against nuclear power right here in the shadow of Three Mile Island.

* * *

Drive a couple of miles from the plant and you're in downtown Middletown, a bustling little community of 10,000 or so. Middletown bore the brunt of the Three Mile Island accident. When Gov. Richard Thornburgh "suggested" that children and pregnant women within five miles of the

plant evacuate, and that everyone else stay indoors with the doors and windows closed, the streets of Middletown emptied, like something out of "The Twilight Zone."

Early one evening, I'm sitting in the Middletown home of Cathy and George Conrad. Her sister, Deb Weigher, and Deb's husband Doug are also there. The three Conrad children run around while we talk. Doug Weigher works for Conrail—he's in United Transportation Union Local 839.

Cathy Conrad is especially angry about the effects of radiation on her children, aged eight, two, and one. "I don't know what they breathed," she says. "This is what really bothers me."

Doug Weigher has had a lot of first-hand experience with radiation on the railroad. Nuclear power isn't popular with rail workers. During the Three Mile Island accident, he says, crew members would pay their own way home rather than lay over in Harrisburg.

He explains that trains carrying nuclear material have strict speed restrictions. If the engineer doesn't stick to it, Doug says, they get a new engineer. Conrail management often tries to move radioactive material secretly, Doug says, by pretending that a car carrying it is empty. If workers knew, he declares, "that would bring up a stir."

"A stir" in Doug's local could involve three or four thousand angry railworkers in one of Conrail's biggest freight yards.

Middletown residents, mad and scared, are organizing to make sure Three Mile Island doesn't terrorize them again. Cathy Conrad is a member of a new Middletown antinuclear group, People Against Nuclear Energy (PANE).

PANE is "average citizens trying to explain how dangerous nuclear power is," Cathy says. "Run on a shoe-string," PANE gets speakers into the schools, shows films, and writes letters to elected officials, the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and newspapers.

Middletown residents collected 1,500 signatures on petitions opposing the reopening of Three Mile Island, Conrad says, in two days. "I can't understand why five men's votes would open the plant when thousands are against it," she says, referring to the NRC. "When is the public's opinion heard?"

Cathy Conrad recalls the fear of the early hours of the accident. She remembers feeling "petrified" by warnings from fire trucks Friday morning. She left twenty minutes later, racing to the school to pick up her son. The scene was "frantic," Conrad says. "Children were at their desks crying." The Conrads left town for eleven days.

Doug Weigher holds the government responsible for the cover-up at Three Mile Island. Cathy Conrad agrees. Deb Weigher says she thinks Met Ed was responsible, and the government just went along. "I don't trust them," all three say.

All three agree that nuclear power is no good. "I'll freeze first," Cathy Conrad says. Everybody nods.



Fred Halstead (left) at antinuclear rally in Harrisburg last April

Va. Steelworkers plan contract fight



Newport News shipyard workers celebrate victory in long struggle for union recognition. With negotiations opening soon, workers have high expectations of wage and benefit gains in their first USWA contract.

By Jon Hillson

NEWPORT NEWS, Va.—Nearly 2,000 union members turned out for first and second shift meetings of United Steelworkers Local 8888 on October 17. They served notice on Tenneco that the union's hard-won recognition victory begins the battle for a decent contract at Tenneco's huge shipyard here.

In beginning negotiations, "we don't look for a fight," District 35 Director Bruce Thrasher told the first shift meeting. But he warned Tenneco, "don't test our resolve or you'll get the damndest fight you've ever seen." The Steelworkers roared their approval.

Thrasher, who will head up the local's negotiating team, told the Steelworkers, "the days of being kicked around are over. The day of the supervisor is over."

The Steelworkers are proposing that negotiations begin on November 1. Shipyard President Edward J. Campbell told a gathering of Peninsula businessmen that negotiations could start at roughly the same time.

Local 8888 President Eddie Coppedge told the second shift meeting: "We should not think the victory was won. We are only halfway there. We are going to be facing one of the most trying times of our lives. Tenneco will not lay down and play dead."

Coppedge, Thrasher, and Subdistrict Director Jack Hower urged a maximum effort to sign up new members to Local 8888 in order to strengthen the union. Scores of shipyard workers did just that, lining up prior to the union meeting and joining Local 8888 on the spot.

Steelworkers told the *Militant* that new members are being signed up on the job in bigger numbers since Tenneco announced on October 12 that it recognized the union as bargaining agent for the shipyard's 15,500 production and maintenance employees.

Comparing the Steelworkers to the defeated company union, Thrasher told Local 8888 members, "there will be no more backroom deals, no more selling out the membership, no more secret meetings in smoke-filled rooms. This contract will be negotiated out in the open, in the sunlight. You will decide. This will be your contract. You are going to have the say on what goes in it and whether it is approved." This pledge brought the biggest cheers of all.

Coppedge sounded the mood of many Steelworkers' expectations of what a

contract should be, noting the union would be negotiating with "one of the biggest companies in the world."

Now, Coppedge said, "It's time to collect."

Tenneco wages lag far behind those at union-organized shipyards across the country. Some workers here would need a 56 percent wage increase to bridge that gap. The difference in benefits is even greater.

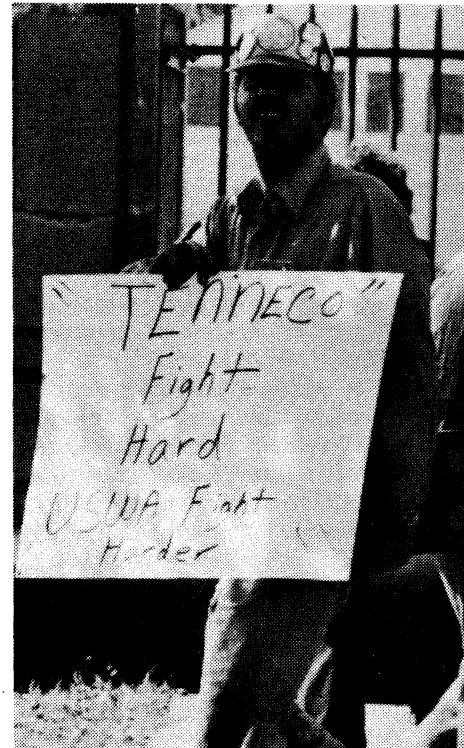
This gap may not be fully overcome in the current negotiations, one Local 8888 activist told the *Militant*. "We're not going to get everything. But we're not going to take crumbs, either."

District Director Thrasher told the *Militant* that a contract victory in Newport News "will obviously be helpful" to organizing drives throughout the South. "People are watching all over the country," he said.

To win such a victory, Coppedge told the union members, "We cannot fight alone. Everybody needs to work together." He urged that differences between members who struck for the full eighty-two days of the recognition strike and those who went back to work earlier be put aside for the sake of unity against the shipyard.

That spirit was evident after the meeting as several Steelworkers welcomed one of their newest members, formerly a stalwart of the company union.

"Now, you're in a real union," one Steelworker told him.



Militant/Jon Hillson

By Nancy Cole

The next national contract fight for the United Mine Workers of America is more than a year off, but both sides are now readying battle plans.

In May, Consolidation Coal Company—the biggest employer of miners and the nation's second-largest coal producer—pulled out of the industry's coordinated bargaining arm, the Bituminous Coal Operators Association (BCOA). Consol wants to try to get a "better deal" by negotiating with the union on its own.

In the coalfields, the announcement was greeted with considerable interest, but little surprise: coal miners from Birmingham to western Pennsylvania are well aware that the coal operators are out to cripple and eventually destroy their union by any means necessary.

They know that the companies tried it during the 1977-78 110-day strike. And they know that next time around industry plans another onslaught.

That's why miners are already—seventeen months in advance—putting

aside savings to last out the next strike.

A lot is at stake—not just for miners but for the entire U.S. labor movement. Backed up against a wall by an ailing capitalist economy that can no longer allow both rising profits and concessions to working people, U.S. employers are taking aim at the power of the unions. They want no obstacles in the way of their drive to speed up production and hold wages down.

In 1977 they chose the UMWA as the first major industrial union in thirty years to be the target of an outright union-busting assault. They failed, and in the process coal miners won greater stature in the eyes of U.S. labor.

Unionists can still be heard to say, "Let's do it like the miners did." Again this time, the fight by the UMWA ranks to defend their union will be closely watched across the nation.

This article will review developments in the UMWA and the coal industry since the 1977-78 strike and make an initial assessment of the state of the union and what lies ahead.

adamant that had they held out longer they could have won more.

The outcome of the battle got mixed reviews in the coalfields. "We won and we lost," says Gary Fleming, who works at a Consol mine in northern West Virginia.

In the face of a union-wrecking assault by industry and government, they had preserved some of the most basic union rights previous struggles had gained. But they had lost their union-controlled, free health care plan.

Their union safety committee was intact, but sought-after safety improvements were not in the contract. For the first time since before World War II, the industry had a clause allowing incentive plans—a devious threat to mine safety—if union locals approved them.

Offensive continues

The miners had thrown a wrench into the union-busting operations of the coal bosses. But the industry's offensive would continue.

And that it has.

Unemployment is one weapon. Thousands of coal miners are laid off or working short shifts, a situation that "has helped maintain tranquility," *U.S. News & World Report* approvingly noted July 23. It is not clear to what extent the industry is exaggerating the present or projected layoff figures in its effort to intimidate the work force and lobby against pollution regulations for coal-fired power plants.

In West Virginia, coal operators formed the COALition and went on a major radio and TV advertising drive against government "overregulation." They tried unsuccessfully to repeal the state coal mining health and safety law.

The industry, along with utilities and the government at various levels, has organized to stall and, if possible, defeat new laws limiting pollution and strip mining.

The coal companies have succeeded in driving through incentive plans in some mines. One such mine in Nova Scotia, Canada, exploded last February, killing twelve miners.

The Carter administration has done more than its part. Before the 1977-78 strike was even over, Carter set up his official Coal Commission. This hand-picked body was given one year to straighten out labor relations in the coalfields so that no U.S. president would ever be so humiliated again as Carter had been when the miners told him to shove it.

As head of the commission, Carter appointed West Virginia's millionaire governor, John D. Rockefeller IV. He added as "neutral" members Texas banker W. Dewey Presley (who's on the board of directors of Continental Oil, owner of Consolidation Coal) and former Labor Secretary W. Willard Wirtz.

The industry representative is a retired U.S. Steel executive. And the union rep? Marvin Friedman, a Washington economist.

Sight-seeing trip

The commission started out with a little sight-seeing trip to a West Virginia mine. Rockefeller emerged from underground with "a better sense of coal mining."

Wirtz found conditions "decent."

"Still," the former labor secretary added, "it's nothing you'd care to do."

Initially, the commission was to have wrapped things up by September, but it was given an extension until December 1979 to come up with recommendations for better "labor relations" in the coalfields.

Much of the commission's public deliberations boiled down to giving the coal operators a forum to rant about the decline in productivity—which they blame on health and safety regulations.

Then with the impending disclosure of Carter's grand energy scheme in July, the commission transformed itself into a public relations outfit to push the administration's proposals on coal.

Coal miners, along with every other

I. Two years later

The much-talked-about "coalfield calm" following the 110-day storm is a misreading if not deliberate distortion, of the real attitudes of coal miners.

The 110 days without income—the UMWA does not have a strike fund—may have made miners more inclined to put up with company provocations for a while without resorting to job actions. But this hardly qualifies as a permanent housebreaking of the coal workforce, as the operators would have it.

A few events this summer and fall illustrate the point:

- In July, UMWA miners in Pike County, Kentucky, struck, charging their employer was insensitive to their needs, that it punished them for filing grievances, and that it hired on the basis of favoritism, not skills. When the 110 miners on the first shift defied a judge's back-to-work order, they were all jailed for one day.

Three days later, the entire midnight shift walked out for twenty-four hours.

- In late July, UMWA miners at an eastern Kentucky mine owned by Beth Elkhorn Coal Corporation (a subsidiary of Bethlehem Mines) struck for five days, protesting temporary job assignments. They won a written policy by management.

- During the first week in August, more than 2,000 miners were off the job in north-central West Virginia. They were protesting the firing of a miner for his organizing efforts at a small nonunion strip mine.

- In September, 5,800 of Illinois's 16,000 coal miners walked out, some for up to twelve days. The strike was sparked by the suspension of a repair-person who refused to fill in for a roofbolter because he wasn't trained for the job. When the company fired five of the initial picketers, even more miners left their jobs in protest.

Suspensions spark walkout

- In August, all 1,500 workers at Beth Elkhorn's Kentucky mines were honoring picket lines over the suspension pending firing of eight UMWA members. The dispute began when Mine 21 hired a nonunion miner despite its agreement to first rehire all laid-off miners from Mine 22, members of the same UMWA local.

During a verbal argument over the hiring between the Mine 21 superintendent and miners from both mines, the superintendent fired seventeen miners. The company then suspended eight of them for "picketing and causing an illegal work stoppage," even though there were no pickets.

These company provocations are in the same vein as those that preceded the militant 1977-78 strike—and the miners' reaction to them is substantially unchanged as well. "Taming" the coal mining work force is a goal

the coal bosses are still far from achieving.

The median age for miners is now thirty or thirty-one—60 percent having been hired in the 1970s. About 5 percent are Black, Latino, or Native American and 2,500, or 1 percent, women—a growing and increasingly important part of the mining work force.

UMWA coal miners have what has been called a sacred respect for the picket line. Decades ago the power of union organization pulled miners out of a brutal existence where every aspect of life was controlled by the greedy coal barons.

Miners know they owe their lives to the strength of the union and to the solidarity of their union brothers and sisters.

Picket lines are just not crossed.

Arbitration

In the years leading up to the 1977 contract expiration, the institution of arbitration was used to try to curb miners' rights and union power. Grievances, many over life-and-death issues for the miners, were channeled through time-consuming procedures stacked in the companies' favor. The end result was an increasing number of local strikes not authorized by the union officialdom.

During the summers of 1975, 1976, and 1977, such local strikes blossomed into national confrontations.

When negotiations opened at the end of 1977, the BCOA threatened "extinction" for the entire union unless the miners fell into line.

It was time to "put behind us the spirit of antagonism," droned BCOA chief Joseph Brennan.

The miners didn't buy it. When the contract deadline rolled around on December 6, the UMWA ranks turned to their other sacred motto: No contract, no work!

The rest is history. The first contract offer, which one miner dubbed the "ball and chain" agreement, never made it past the bargaining council. The second went to the membership, only to be rejected by more than two to one.

Meanwhile, all the pressure and force that could be mustered was brought to bear against the miners by Democratic and Republican officials. It was capped by Carter's Taft-Hartley back-to-work order. "Let Carter mine the coal," the miners answered as they defied the presidential decree.

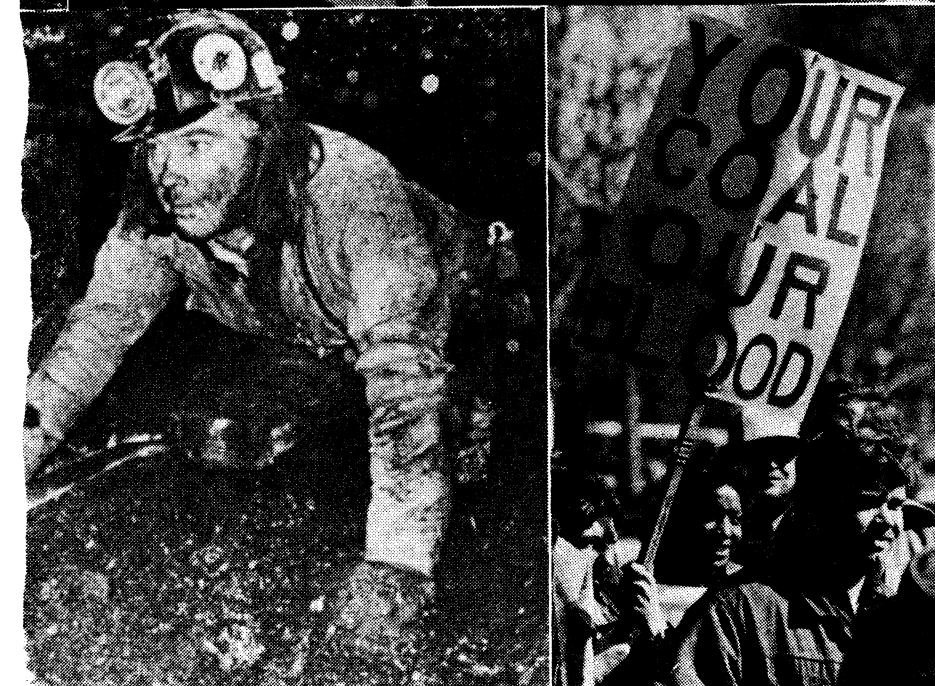
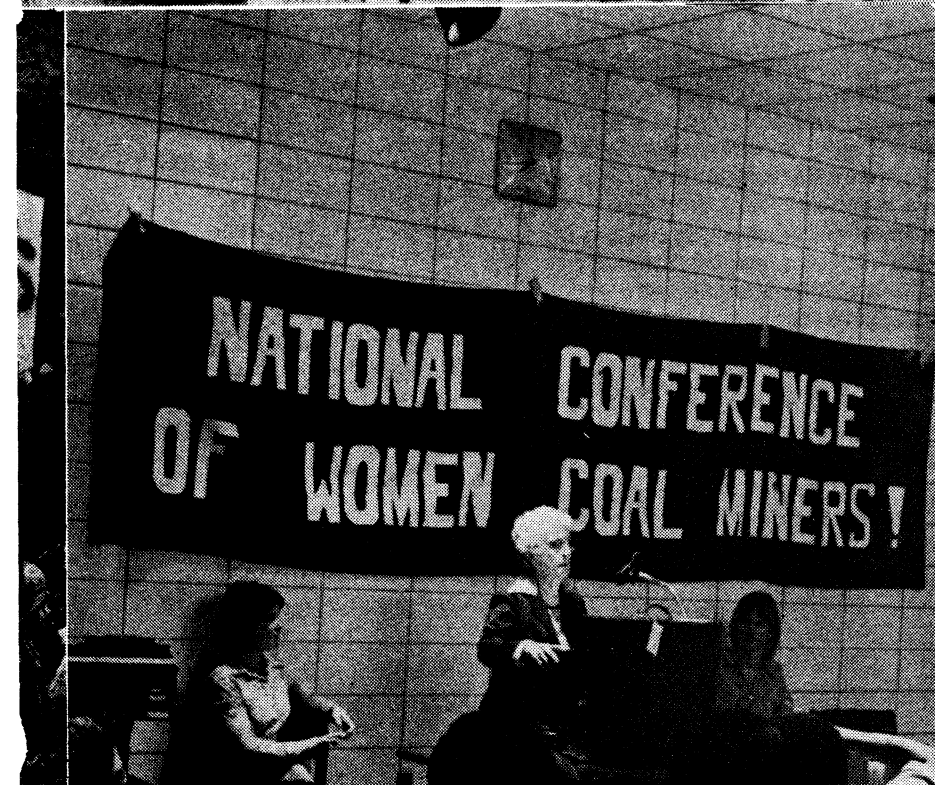
When the miners ratified the third offer by 57 to 43 percent and returned to work at the end of March, it was only because they were worn out by 110 days without strike benefits and far from confident that their official union leadership was ever going to come up with anything better. Many who rejected the final offer are still



COAL MINERS

for battles to come

The 110-day coal strike, both sides are preparing for. Industry is again talking about the Mine Workers union ranks are yet to have their final say.



Earl Dotter

Militant photos by Nancy Cole

working person in the country, can expect only more hardships from Carter's energy blueprint.

The problem the government faces is that the American people know that the energy crisis is contrived by profit-hungry U.S. oil companies.

Working people firmly believe, although we're not allowed access to the facts, that the oil and gas shortages are manufactured by industry to jack up prices. And we realize that there is enough coal in the ground to last 600 years.

In an effort to divert attention from the real culprits, Carter has gone to great lengths to blame the crisis on the OPEC nations for charging too much and on U.S. working people for using too much.

Do with less

The grand patriotic solution is for working people to do with less while the United States develops "energy independence."

Part of the plan supposedly is to use more coal—but in the view of the Carter administration and the coal industry, this must be at the expense of the environment and our health.

The Democratic administration has fought tooth and nail on the side of the coal operators against stiff strip-mine reclamation rules and pollution standards. It has totally ignored the need for even stricter enforcement of safety provisions if coal demand is substantially increased.

The coal boom first projected several years ago was contingent on crushing the power and militancy of the UMW. The 110-day strike threw cold

water on that plan. But industry and government are trying to revive it.

The employers are today preaching the same sermons on UMW weakness as they did before December 1977.

"With only half of today's coal production coming from unionized mines, the union seems to be shrinking into a weak, regional organization with little influence outside of Appalachia," wrote *U.S. News & World Report*.

"The future of coal is unlimited, but I just don't think the union has the capacity to handle it," says one government official.

The industry and its loyal news media point to three difficulties that plague what they love to call "the once-powerful UMW."

First, the declining proportion of coal production mined by union members.

Second, dissension within the union exacerbated by the "weak" leadership of UMW President Arnold Miller and Vice-president Sam Church.

And third, the recent pullout of Consol from the BCOA, which threatens to disintegrate national bargaining.

The first two are the same reasons that prompted pro-industry commentators to predict in 1977 that the miners could never cause a "national crisis." They could no longer "bring the country to its knees," it was said, because the union had lost its "grip" on the coal industry.

The one thing the ruling class failed to consider was the militancy and determination of the UMW ranks.

And that is one thing—layoffs or no layoffs—that is not shifting in the coal operators' favor.

II. Organizing

While the UMW organizes nearly three-fourths of the nation's coal miners, it produces only 50 percent of the coal. That's down from 70 percent just five years ago.

The major reason for this is the expansion of giant strip mines in the western states—operations that require considerably fewer miners than the eastern underground mines. For the most part the energy corporations have managed to keep them nonunion.

The biggest mines in the country are in the West. Including operations in the eastern coalfields, 60 percent of coal produced is now surface mined.

Among the eastern underground mines, UMW production is also slipping. In coal-rich southeastern Kentucky, up to 80 percent of the coal is nonunion. The employers' offensive in this arena is vividly illustrated in several union-busting strikes that continued past the national strike in Harlan County and across the border in St. Charles, Virginia.

The Oklahoma-based Mapco, Inc., which already operates nonunion mines in Kentucky, has now targeted Illinois—a state that has long been nearly 100 percent UMW. This fall Mapco plans to open a big deep mine in Carmi, Illinois.

"We're invading the holy land, I guess," says Mapco official Fred Murray.

U.S. News & World Report adds, "If the union fails to organize the Carmi mine, observers say, it will be an invitation to other big mining companies to fight unionization of new mines in the future."

So what is the union's organizing strategy?

When the Miners for Democracy slate took over administration of the union in early 1973, the organizing department was in sorry shape. Thus began a reorientation of this critical task, including a national organizing conference that spring.

The first big test was the Brookside mine in Harlan County, Kentucky, where an organizing strike began in July 1973. At the end of the year with the Brookside battle still raging, the UMW international convention declared the union's commitment to or-

ganizing the unorganized in eastern Kentucky and pledged all-out support to the strikers.

"We must also recognize our union's responsibility to return with our heads held high to this area where so many miners fought and died for the UMW only to be abandoned," wrote the officers in their report to the convention.

"It was in Harlan County in the 1930s that Florence Reece, a miner's wife, wrote her famous song, 'Which Side Are You On?' She sang it again at the strike support rally in November, and there is no doubt in our minds that the miners in Harlan County are on our side. We must not fail them."

And they didn't, as anyone knows who saw the award-winning documentary movie about the strike—*Harlan County, USA*.

Despite gun thugs, jailings of entire strike families, blacklistings, evictions, and court orders, the union prevailed.

The mine was owned by Duke Power Company, so the union organized informational picketing throughout eastern Kentucky and North Carolina where the utility is headquartered.

The UMW launched an ad campaign in North Carolina newspapers. When Duke Power requested a rate hike, a coalition was organized to oppose it.

The union's effort included a "Dump Duke" drive aimed at the company's stockholders. At one point, miners in full work gear picketed the New York Stock Exchange.

In March 1974, Harlan County was the scene of a citizens public inquiry into the strike. Prominent professors, authors, and politicians formed a panel that heard strikers' testimony.

But probably most important was the support generated within the UMW. The international officers visited and walked the picket lines numerous times. The *UMW Journal* campaigned around the strike.

Miners rally

In July 1974, 6,000 miners and their supporters rallied in Harlan. Miners had come on buses from northern West Virginia, Indiana, and Illinois. The

Continued on next page

Continued from preceding page

next day, the governor withdrew state police from the picket lines.

In August, the UMWA called a five-day nationwide "memorial period." The shutdown, a contractual right traditionally used to commemorate miners killed on the job, paid tribute "to the thousands of coal miners who have suffered from violence in the mines and on the picket lines."

A week-long series of strike support activities in Harlan County during the memorial shutdown culminated in a march by thousands through the streets of Harlan August 22.

Several days later a striker was murdered. The next day Duke Power signed a UMWA contract.

"When the history of the great organizing battles of the '70s are written," Miller declared at a news conference, "the Brookside strike will be seen as a turning point for all coal mining families, and the beginning of the end for nonunion coal in this country."

Several organizing victories rapidly followed in southern Kentucky, but it was not to be so easy. The next test was the Justus mine in Stearns, Kentucky, owned by the Blue Diamond Coal Company.

Stearns miners, spurred into action by the March 1976 Scotia disaster that killed twenty-six men in a mine also owned by Blue Diamond, voted 126 to 57 for the UMWA. But Blue Diamond—a notorious nonunion outfit with mines in Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virginia—refused to give in. The miners struck in July 1976.

Strikers' courage

A three-year struggle followed with the Stearns miners displaying an unsurpassable courage. It renewed one's faith in the union movement and the combativity of the working class just to talk with the strikers and their family members in the Stearns Women's Club.

Gun thugs hired by Blue Diamond shot at them. State police watched their every move and at times beat and arrested them. Judges issued strike-breaking orders against them. Through it all they stood firm.

When the strike ended this May nearly 122 miners were still doing picket duty.

The battle came to a close after international UMWA officials negotiated, behind the backs of the strikers, a new "representation election." Only sixty strikers were eligible to vote versus 110 scabs. The strikers boycotted the rigged election.

When they had first voted for the UMWA in 1976, it took the National Labor Relations Board four months to certify the election. This May the NLRB okayed the 110 votes for the

company union in less than two weeks.

When the strikers tried to appeal to the NLRB, they were informed they had no right to do so because they weren't a party to the agreement.

"We poured everything we had into it," former strike leader Darrell Vanover told the *Militant*. "We put three years of our lives into that strike. I don't think Miller and Church realized just how much we wanted to win."

Why defeat?

Why was it that Stearns—what the *UMWA Journal* early on called "the biggest test of the UMWA's expanded organizing drive" since Brookside—turned out so much differently than the 1973-74 Harlan County victory?

There were differences before the picket lines ever went up. It was two years later than Brookside and the big-business offensive against working people had intensified. The trend was more and more for employers to demand give-backs, and Blue Diamond had the solid support of the entire industry in its stubborn resistance to the UMWA.

Unlike Duke Power, Blue Diamond is a "privately held" company, so its stockholders were not subject to disclosure—although many of its business connections were known.

Also, McCreary County where Stearns is located is not Harlan, with its traditions of struggle.

Yet the most decisive difference was that union officials failed to put the same kind of campaign into motion as they did for the Brookside strike.

Nearly \$3 million went into the Stearns drive, mainly for the weekly \$100 a striker benefits. During the first year of the strike the *Journal* regularly featured coverage. But then that tapered off. Miller visited the strikers only once during the three years.

When called upon and informed about strike developments, the union membership responded. Thousands of dollars were contributed to the strikers relief fund. Stearns miners made speaking tours of some areas of the country at the behest of other unions, especially during the national strike last year. But a victory required more than that.

'Power of union'

Strike leader Vanover believes the "power of the union, which is generated by the leadership" could have won the strike. "We believed in the rank and file," he says, "and if it had been up to the rank and file, we would be producing coal under the UMWA today."

Near the end, the international officials grasped for a straw when they learned Standard Oil might buy Blue Diamond. UMWA representatives re-

portedly met with the oil company to try and arrange a union contract should the deal go through. When Standard Oil withdrew its offer to buy Blue Diamond, union officials contend they had no alternative but to go through with a new representation election.

"We just lost," says Vice-president Church. "When you get into a fight and you lose, you just get up, adjust your britches and go on."

But it leaves a bad taste in southeastern Kentucky. Charges abound that the international leadership decided to let the strike go because it feared the Stearns miners would join the growing opposition to Miller within the union.

The organizers assigned to Stearns supported former UMWA Secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick for president in the 1977 union elections. Although they couldn't vote, most Stearns miners followed suit, which is understandable considering Patrick visited the picket lines several times and spoke at support rallies.

At one point, after Miller won reelection, he transferred the central UMWA organizer out of Stearns. There were other examples of politicking at the expense of the Stearns strikers and of the union's entire future.

III. Union democracy

The upcoming UMWA convention will also provide a picture of how far Arnold Miller has allowed his administration to stray from the program of Miners for Democracy (MFD).

Miller was elected from the ranks (he was on black lung disability at the time) on an MFD platform pledging greater representation for UMWA members. The early Miller administration made significant strides toward union democracy and in strengthening international departments, such as health and safety. At the 1973 UMWA convention, miners themselves made sure that many provisions guaranteeing the rights of the rank and file were written into the union constitution.

But the new administration came under intense pressure from the employers and from forces within the union (the reactionary holdovers from the Boyle regime). More and more, Miller's efforts to reach an accommodation with the companies and his critics led him to become isolated from the union ranks.

From the start, the MFD was the victim of red-baiting. But the reform administration refused to take it head on and expose it for what it was: a

"The Stearns test will probably put an end to the dream of a UMWA resurgence in eastern Kentucky in the near future," gloated *Business Week*.

That remains to be seen. If the UMWA can restore confidence in its ability to organize the unorganized with a serious, all-out campaign, the dream can be revived.

So far the union hasn't done so well. The Jericol strikers in Harlan County and the St. Charles, Virginia, miners have been virtually abandoned by the international.

They, along with surface miners in North Cambria, Pennsylvania, were forced to remain on strike when the rest of the UMWA returned to work in March 1978 after the nationwide strike. Their employers refused to sign the national agreement.

After their battle had dragged on for more than a year, strike benefits were cut off. The miners relief fund was depleted, the union told them. No appeal went out to the ranks to aid the UMWA strikers.

How to turn this situation around and launch a nationwide organizing drive will be one of the biggest tasks facing delegates to the next UMWA convention, scheduled for Denver from December 10-20.

divisive, antiunion tactic intended to cloud the real political issues.

Now Miller has come full circle, himself employing red-baiting to discredit his opponents. A March 1979 *UMW Journal* article was headlined, "Yellow Journalism: The 'Untold' Story." It claimed to trace a number of coalfield publications to "avowed socialist splinter groups."

Miller's reluctance to confront the coal operators and the right wing within the union is best shown in his approach to the unauthorized strikes that often break out in the coalfields.

The employers never accepted the first contract negotiated by the MFD administration in 1974, especially its unprecedented safety provisions. They defied the agreement every chance they got.

When this provoked a national confrontation in the summer of 1975, Miller tried to mediate between the two sides rather than support the strikers in their just grievances.

That ambivalence hardened into hostile opposition by the 1977 walkout over the health-care cuts. Reportedly, this even included deploying strike-breakers paid by the international.

Then during the 110-day strike, top union officials forfeited all claims to leadership by trying to shove contract offers, dictated by industry, down the throats of the ranks.

'Stable' work force

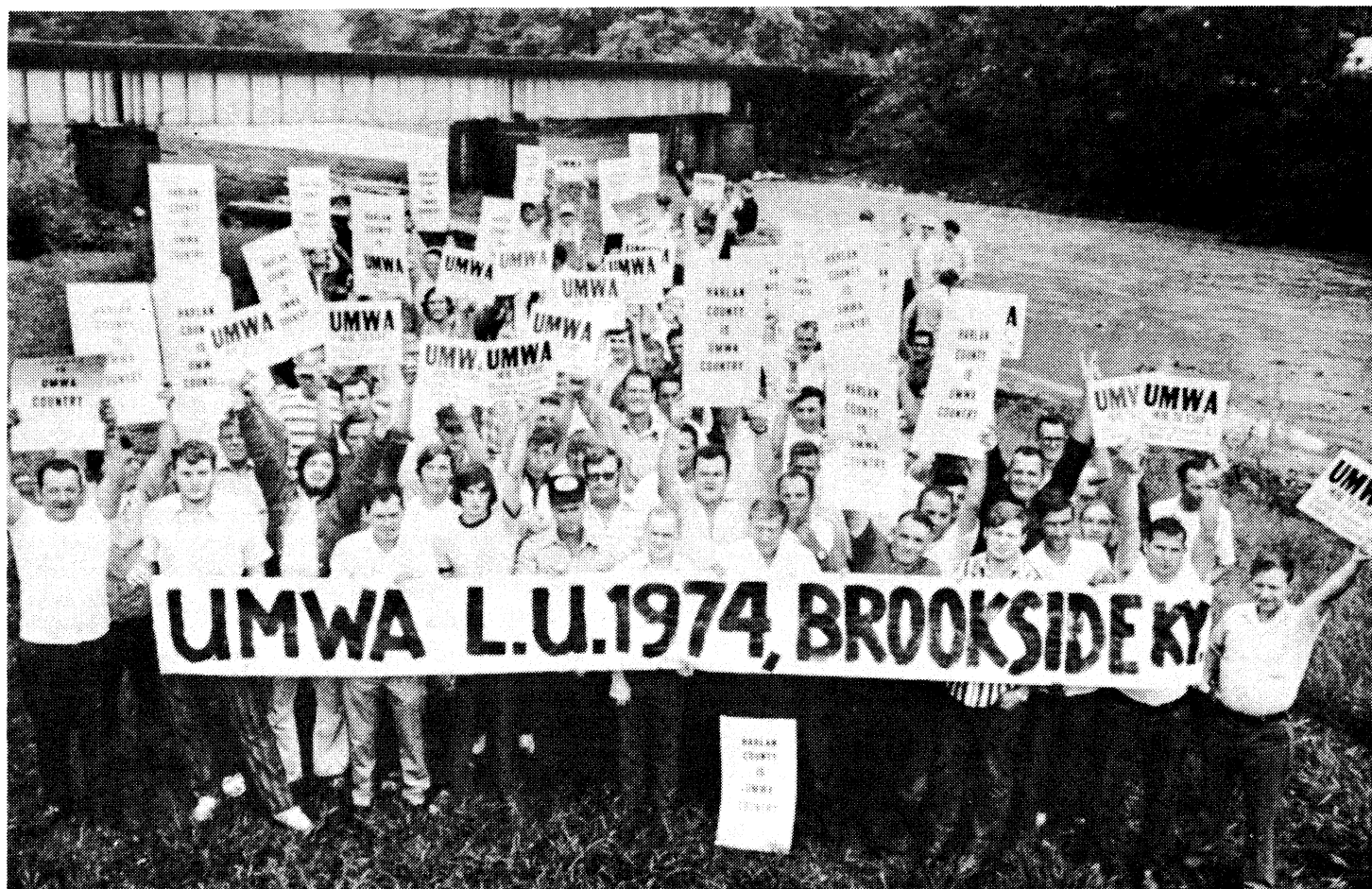
Since the strike, Miller and Vice-president Sam Church have campaigned to convince the industry that the UMWA is now a "stable" work force.

At a panel discussion on labor/management relations last year, Church declared, "Now for the first time in many, many years" both the union and management "realize that we're not back fighting battles of the 1930s."

In August Miller addressed a safety symposium in Blacksburg, Virginia, declaring that industry's new mood of "cooperation" brought it "closer today to solving its major problems than we have been in my lifetime."

He added that he hoped the next UMWA contract would be negotiated "without a work stoppage."

When Miller announced the upcoming convention a year ago, he told reporters that he would seek revisions in the union constitution. "I need enough authority so that I can run the union," he reportedly said. Referring to dissident union members he added, "If they don't want to be a part the union, I need the authority to throw them out."



Earl Dotter

A national UMWA campaign in support of Brookside miners brought victory to their organizing strike in 1974

Reportedly, one proposed constitutional change he wants is for the president to have the power to dismiss not just headquarters staff, but also elected officers in the international and district offices.

Miller has already had a trial run of this when he twice removed from office International Executive Board member Bill Lamb for "insubordination."

Miller has already reportedly said that some of the reforms made at the 1973 convention "went too far."

Fits industry plans

Any such assault on union democracy will fit right into the industry's union-busting plans.

The union was strengthened when the ranks regained some control over its actions. Without rank-and-file contract ratification, there would have been no 110-day battle in 1977-78 because the industry could have crippled the union with one swipe.

The coal operators know that the ranks of the United Mine Workers cannot be "tamed" without first rolling back these democratic gains.

Defense of the democratic procedure for voting on contracts, the right to elect all officers, and the democratic conduct of union conventions is the first line of defense of the UMWA. To strengthen the union for the battles ahead, union democracy needs to be extended to assure that the ranks have the power to discuss freely, decide democratically, and take action in their own interests.

Leadership

The coal bosses like to argue that Miller's weaknesses show that the whole experience of Miners for Democracy was a failure, a step backward

for the union. The big-business news media try to reinforce this view and create as much confusion as possible while miners are grappling with the difficult problem of forging an effective leadership that is committed to their needs.

What the bosses want (short of no union at all, which is their long-term goal) is a union bureaucracy that can police the work force, enforce productivity drives, stifle all dissent, and collaborate with industry to raise profits. Their deceitful call for "strong leadership" has nothing to do with what miners need.

Unfortunately, many who want to see the UMWA strengthened—both miners and other supporters of the union—focus their fire solely on the Miller leadership. All other questions become subordinate to the drive to oust Miller, including the question of what leadership with what program would replace him.

Some outspoken opponents of Miller, like Lee Roy Patterson who ran against him in the last election, are dead set against union democracy. Others are strong advocates of democracy. But these crucial distinctions are often blurred in the narrow, programless anti-Miller campaign.

The real challenge for the union, no matter who occupies its offices in Washington, is to strengthen the miners' bargaining hand for upcoming battles—organizing the unorganized, defending miners in day-to-day conflicts, responding to the energy crisis, and meeting the new opportunities to win broad support for the UMWA.

It is only in the course of organizing and mobilizing the ranks for these struggles that a new leadership can emerge and be tested.



UMWA Journal



Militant/Nancy Cole

As a symbol that ranks had regained control with Miners for Democracy victory, UMWA Secretary-treasurer Harry Patrick auctioned off union Cadillacs. But by March 1978, when striking miners were demonstrating in Washington, the Cadillacs had returned.

Shutting down nuclear plants and using coal instead would put thousands of laid-off miners to work. That in and of itself would strengthen the union on every front—from organizing to defense of mine safety.

It is notable, though, that miners have not simply approached this question from the standpoint of their own jobs. They are more and more convinced, as other workers are also, that nuclear power is inherently unsafe.

The May *UMW Journal* was devoted to explaining the dangers of nuclear power and why coal is the answer. UMWA representatives have spoken at antinuclear rallies and meetings in several parts of the country. The union has welcomed the growth of the anti-nuclear movement.

Because the UMWA has been the most outspoken labor opponent of nuclear power, it has the opportunity—and the duty—to spearhead a campaign to educate and mobilize the rest of the union movement around this issue.

By doing so the UMWA would make a historic contribution to defending the interests of working people and the future of all humanity. And it would surely win the UMWA new allies and supporters for the battles that lie ahead.

* * *

I recently came across a passage written in 1950 by C.A. Madison in a book on the labor movement. "Miners are haunted men," he wrote. "Their

minds are vexed with the memories of bloody struggles for higher pay and for the preservation and growth of their labor union. Their thoughts are constantly troubled by insecurity of work. . . . Their hearts grow weary repressing the importunate warnings of the dangers that lurk underground. . . ."

It's a characterization often given miners, usually expressed better. Frequently, these "haunted men [and now women]" are described as a "breed apart." What these authors and commentators are getting at is the solidarity and traditions of unionism ingrained in coal miners by decades of struggle. Even new miners without family ties to the UMWA quickly pick it up.

So when *Business Week* or *Fortune* or some other corporate mouthpiece talks about the "fading power" of the UMWA and its dim future as a union of any strength, it's not the first time the union has been prematurely counted out.

We should recall the ninety-year history of the United Mine Workers—from the 1977-78 coal strike, back through the wage-freeze-breakthrough strikes during World War II, to the Harlan County battles of the 1930s, to the Pennsylvania anthracite strike of 1902.

The power and fighting spirit of miners pulled the union through those battles to new heights of strength. In the 1980s, the key to the survival and strengthening of the UMWA once again lies with the ranks.

IV. New opportunities

As the UMWA heads into the 1980s, its problems are well known and highly publicized. But there are also new opportunities that point positively toward a powerful and democratic union. One new ingredient is the rapidly increasing number of women miners.

Since 1973, when there were virtually no women miners, the female work force has grown to around 2,500. Women have had to fight their way into the mines and fight to stay there. They can infuse the union with a new spirit.

At the first national conference of women coal miners, held last June in Institute, West Virginia, the seventy-five women miners present made clear that they are the wave of the future.

Although many were not previously active in their union, they pledged to go back and get involved. They look to the union and their union brothers to tackle the problems they face on the job and in society.

They approved a resolution affirming their support for the union, concluding: "After all, a woman miner's place is in her union."

Their efforts were encouraged by a resolution passed by the International Executive Board last November solidifying with the efforts "to achieve greater opportunities for women in the coal industry."

Then in April the UMWA moved its convention scheduled for Miami to Denver because Florida has not ratified the Equal Rights Amendment.

All these are positive signals that can be used by women miners as a springboard to involve the union in fighting for their rights. Any such fight, aimed at the companies and the same government that invoked Taft-Hartley against the miners last year, can only stand the entire union in good stead.

Campaign vs. nuclear power

Another big opportunity for the UMWA is its recent campaign to use coal in place of nuclear power.

Although there has been a sharp

shift in public opinion against nuclear power plants since the Three Mile Island disaster, the utilities, the Carter administration, and Congress remain absolutely committed to their continued use.

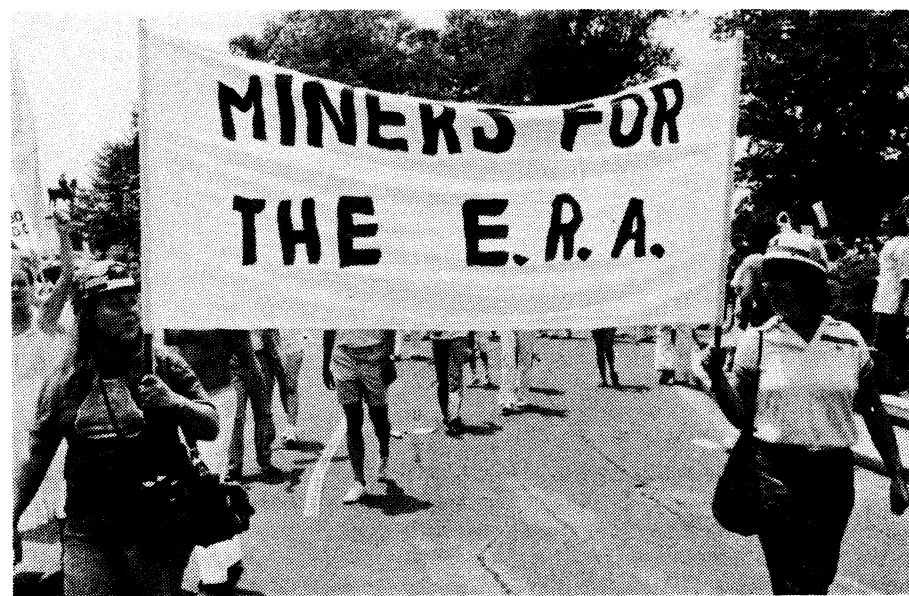
They argue that the 13 percent of the country's electricity now generated by nuclear plants cannot be replaced.

The UMWA says differently.

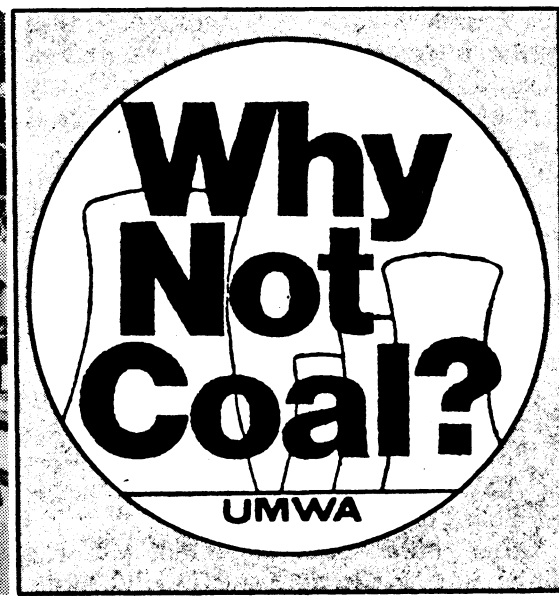
"We could burn coal in this country for the next two, three, four hundred years with our own domestic proven reserves, and take the next two or three hundred years [to] develop something that's safe," UMWA legislative representative Michael Bruckner told an antinuclear meeting in New Jersey in July.

Contrary to the position taken by the coal industry, the UMWA has made it clear that coal should be burned under strict pollution and safety controls. The union has taken the lead in explaining that—unlike with nuclear energy—the technology exists to burn coal relatively cleanly.

If urgently needed coal production is being curtailed in the midst of an energy crisis, the full blame rests on the coal companies and utilities, which refuse to use this technology because it would cut into their profits.



Militant/Charles Ostrofsky



Influx of women into coal jobs and the union's campaign against nuclear power are encouraging signs for UMWA's future

Chrysler crisis: the case for public ownership



Militant/Elizabeth Ziers

By Frank Lovell

(second of two parts)

What will be done about the financial problems at Chrysler cannot be decided immediately, or all at once.

Politicians in Congress and officials at the Treasury Department have indicated that government aid depends largely upon the new Chrysler contract with the United Auto Workers union. Consequently, the pressure for union negotiators to make concessions will rise.

UAW President Douglas Fraser has said that he is not concerned with the future of the Chrysler Corporation "... as an entity."

"My only concern," he says, "is for the jobs of 124,000 Chrysler workers and for the jobs of additional thousands of UAW members who work for the supplier companies who depend on Chrysler."

It is certainly true that saving jobs, not saving Chrysler, is what is of interest to auto workers. But how will this be done?

After a recent meeting with Chrysler chairman Lee Iacocca, Fraser said he will tell Congress that "the union is doing its part by taking a lesser contract." An outright wage freeze is too much to ask, Fraser said, but "if you said a freeze on purchasing power, then you've got the germ of an idea."

Saving Studebaker

Working for less in order to save jobs is the same reasoning that led the UAW officialdom two decades ago to impose a low wage rate on auto workers at the Studebaker plant in South Bend, Indiana. Studebaker went under anyway.

The same logic is used today to justify an inferior UAW contract for American Motors auto plants in Toledo and Milwaukee. And if concessions are wrested from Chrysler workers, General Motors and Ford will soon look for ways to demand cut-rate terms as well.

All the various schemes to "save Chrysler" that are offered—by Chrysler executives, by UAW officials, by bankers and industrialists—rest on

a series of assumptions. They take for granted:

- that the capitalist economy is viable and will shortly recover from its present slump,
- that the market for automobiles and trucks will expand,
- that there is healthy competition among the major auto producers,
- that private management is indispensable (UAW officials say only that it should be curbed and controlled),
- that workers presently employed by Chrysler are wholly dependent on the prosperity of that particular corporation, and
- that giant corporations such as Chrysler perform a necessary and useful social function.

These are false assumptions.

Political answer

The only valid proposition, recognized by all who are involved in the Chrysler problem—is that *the solution depends on politics*.

The Carter administration and Congress are responsive to the needs of the capitalist class. Various capitalists, their economic advisers and political servitors, have plans on what can be done and are at work on the Chrysler problem.

The working class has a big stake in what happens. Chrysler plants and other facilities could serve a useful purpose. They could produce "a new car which emphasizes safety, fuel efficiency, and low pollution," as Fraser has suggested. Or they could manufacture railroad equipment for a more efficient mass transportation system.

These are suggestions on what to do with Chrysler that are in the interest of the working class, that would improve the quality of life for the majority of people in our society. But the present Congress is uninterested in any such suggestions.

Nationalize Chrysler

Andrew Pulley, a steelworker and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for president in the 1980 general election, has analyzed the Chrysler prob-

lem from the standpoint of working people. His statement was printed in full in the August 31 *Militant*.

"There is only one answer," says Pulley, "that can protect the interests of Chrysler workers, taxpayers, and other working people: *Nationalize Chrysler*."

Pulley explains that he is not suggesting that Chrysler facilities should be bought up by the government at inflated prices, costing several billion dollars, and then turned over to the present managers to operate, or to a gang of government bureaucrats. Nothing like that.

The plain fact is that Chrysler's present managers have run it into the ground and are no longer capable of continuing production without a massive infusion of public money. That's what Chrysler chairman Iacocca says.

So why should the government turn over a billion dollars to Iacocca and the banks for an operation that has failed?

Instead of squandering taxpayers' money on a losing proposition, Andrew Pulley says the government should simply take over Chrysler plants and begin producing the kind of automobiles and other transportation facilities that are needed.

Who would be in charge of the reorganization and the new operation?

"We advocate that it should be managed by an elected public board," Pulley says.

By insisting that all the meetings of such a board be open to the public, that its books and records be available for public inspection, and that its decisions be fully aired and accounted for, working people could keep a close eye on its operations," he says. "This would place us in the best position to fight to safeguard our interests."

Workers control

How would the workers exercise control over this publicly elected managerial board? The same way the union today exercises a certain degree of control over private management, only much more so.

"The best guarantee that Chrysler will be run in the public interest is to entrust control over its day-to-day operations to the autoworkers themselves," Pulley says. "It's a safe bet that UAW members have the experience and expertise to run production better than the current bosses."

This plan to nationalize Chrysler and operate its plants under workers control, producing to meet transportation needs, is good. But is it anything more than a plan? Something to talk about? Can such a plan work?

Who would expect the present Congress to nationalize Chrysler? Is there one member of Congress who will even propose such a plan?

These are the questions auto workers and others are beginning to ask themselves. It's not only about Chrysler. This giant auto corporation is just one of the many big segments of the economy that is faltering, on the verge of collapse.

What about the railroads? Whole sections in the East and Midwest have declared bankruptcy.

The steel industry is cutting back production and has closed big mills in Buffalo, Youngstown, and other cities that not long ago were major steel-producing centers.

Capitalist prospects

The capitalist class has no plan to revive the economy and resume production for the needs of society. They are interested in operating the mines, factories, mills, and transportation systems only if there is profit to be made.

That is their plan. And that plan is failing. Chrysler is a symptom of the cancerous condition of the capitalist economy.

The future looks bleak to those who are charged with managing capitalism on a world scale. The annual report of the International Monetary Fund was released September 16 in Washington. It foresees "a period of severe strains in the world economy." The *Wall Street Journal* summarized the report as follows: "Managing a weakening world economy in the face of a U.S. recession will prove a tough task for policy makers here and abroad in the year ahead."

The only plan of the capitalist "policy makers" is to hang on, hoping to weather the economic storm that they see building up like a tropical hurricane.

When the problems at Chrysler are viewed from this vantage point, the Pulley plan to nationalize Chrysler and produce for people's needs is certainly more realistic than the bailout schemes supported by those in the capitalist camp.

Labor party

What is needed for the realization of this working-class solution is a political turnabout by the union movement, away from the capitalist two-party system and toward genuine independent working-class political action.

To take hold of governmental power and use it in the workers' own interests, a labor party is needed, based on the unions.

The hesitation of union officials today, especially in the UAW, to demand that Chrysler be nationalized reflects their feeling that it can't be done. They don't think they can influence any of their Democratic Party "friends" in Congress to move in that direction.

Furthermore, they don't expect any favorable political shift in Washington toward the needs of working men and women and their unions.

There are new indications, however, that the deepening economic and social crisis of capitalism is contributing to the political education of union members and other workers.

The latest sign, a reflection of dissatisfaction in the union ranks, is a union news release from the West Coast: "The feasibility of establishing a Labor Party will be explored by key California AFL-CIO leaders before the end of the year."

In factories, schools, neighborhoods

Sandinistas organize defense committees

The following article appeared in the September 23 issue of the Sandinista daily 'Barricada' and reprints of it are being posted up throughout Nicaragua. The translation is by 'Intercontinental Press/Inprecor.'

What Are the CDSs?

They are broad and democratic organizations of the Nicaraguan people, formed to defend and consolidate the revolution. Through them, the broadest masses of the people carry out revolutionary changes, seek solutions to their needs, defend their interests, and prepare themselves to participate directly in the exercise of people's power.

They Are the Hands, Eyes, and Ears of the Revolution

The participation of the CDSs, led by the vanguard of the people, the FSLN, was very important for the victorious insurrection of the Sandinista people.

They arose prior to the insurrection out of the urgent necessity for defense against the dictatorship and support to the FSLN. The defense committees were the most effective guardians of the neighborhood, cleaning out the hired thugs; they ran the first-aid stations, the clandestine clinics, the secret printshops with broken-down people's mimeographs, the underground stores, etc. Through these actions the whole people prepared themselves to take part in and to win the struggle to the death that led us to overthrow the bloodiest dictatorship in the Americas.

The participation of the Defense Committees, led by the Sandinista Front, was very important for the victorious insurrection of the Sandinista people.

Today They Are More Necessary Than Ever.

The insurrectional struggle was won against an open enemy. Today the fight is against stealthy internal enemies who, through subterfuge and guile, hope to snatch away the people's victory. But the fight is also against the enemy of all peoples, imperialism. The struggle today must be directed toward the organized people resolving the grave economic and social problems that the corruption of the fallen regime left us. The struggle today must be directed toward the masses increasingly organizing themselves to be able to achieve their aspirations, to defend themselves against their enemies, and to consolidate the revolution.

In addition, the CDSs have the task of developing true revolutionary values, respect among neighbors, and collective work.

To Promote Labor for the Community, the Country, and the Defense of the Sandinista Revolution!

In organizing the CDSs we are organizing *People's Power*. This means that the masses are creating their own means of resolving their political, social, and economic problems. The fact is that projects won't move forward, revolutionary changes won't move forward if the CDSs, led by their vanguard, the FSLN, don't participate, if they don't make them real.

This people's power will be what counts in making sure the masses achieve their political and economic demands. The masses won't just be asking or demanding it, but will be actively participating through this structure.

Today, to consolidate the revolution



August 29 march on Managua. Poster reads, "People's sovereignty isn't talked about, it is defended arms in hand." Banner declares, "Workers and peasants to power."

and maintain its gains, the tasks that the CDSs must advance and develop are:

1. To defend the Sandinista revolution, which was won through the blood and sacrifice of our people and its vanguard. Not to allow stealthy native and foreign enemies to snatch away the gains that have been won.

To maintain active support to the revolution by means of demonstrations and political mobilizations, letting the whole world see the combative spirit of our *Sandinista Revolution*.

The CDSs must continually make their defense of the revolution more effective, putting into practice the orientation of our vanguard.

We Defend Our Revolution . . . Death to the Counterrevolution!

2. To maintain the defense activities of the people's organization. As we have said, the CDSs are the eyes and ears of the revolution; the revolutionary vigilance of the people must be aimed at detecting and combating the enemies of the building of a new motherland. They must not permit the revival of hiding places for Somozaism, paramilitary units, sabotage, Somozaist infiltrators in the revolutionary and peoples organs, in the ministries, etc.

We Must Control Somozaism, We Defend the Revolution!

3. To participate in solving the grave problems left us by the rotten dictatorship—a disastrous economy, deep social problems. We must find ways of continually increasing participation in the CDSs, which will give us the forces needed to raise the standard of living, to find solutions in the field of health, and to translate the aspirations of the people into reality.

Revolution Is . . . Reconstruction.

4. To consolidate the organizations of the masses, the CDSs and others, in order to ensure the gains of the revolution, in order to continue developing people's power.

The Watchword Is: Organization, Organization, and More Organization!

Who Is Organized in the CDS?

For a people in revolution, the most important thing is to be organized. Because no matter how great a people's enthusiasm, morale, and fighting spirit, unless it is organized and united, unless its forces are coordinated, it will be unable to use them to combat the enemies of our revolution who lie in waiting, nor will it be able to translate all the revolution's aspirations into reality.

Each Man, Each Woman, Each Youth Must Be Organized Where they Work, Where they Study, Where they Live!

The People, the True People Are Organized to Defend and Build the Sandinista Revolution!

The revolution must be the great union of all who produce for the people, who work for the people. The revolution must not be represented by politicians, agents of Somozaism, climbers—these cannot be and must not be in the CDS.

The CDSs Are Bodies of Residents Determined to Defend the Revolution.

How the CDSs Are Formed.

The CDSs are organized by block, street, section, or group of houses, according to the way the families in the neighborhood or district are distributed.

The CDS is made up of those residents of each block, street, square, or group of houses who are determined to defend the revolution. In each CDS a representative of this committee is democratically elected. This representative, elected by the residents, should be someone known for honesty and readiness to contribute to the work of the community. This *compañero* will cooperate with representatives of the other CDSs to carry out tasks, and must report to his CDS on all the resolutions and discussions that take place in the higher bodies. In addition to the representatives, there should be elected coordinators of health, propaganda, supplies, culture and sports, communal work, and any other task depending on the needs of the sector.

If there are less than fifteen CDSs in a neighborhood or district, the representatives of each of them will form a Sandinista Neighborhood Committee or a Sandinista District (community or village) Committee.

In districts where the houses are not arranged in any order CDSs should be formed by groups of fifteen to twenty-five houses, with each CDS composed of houses that are closest to each other.

The Councils of CDSs

If the neighborhood has more than fifteen CDSs, it is divided by groups or levels, each with its own Council of CDSs. For example, in a neighborhood divided into three groups there will be three CDS Councils. The Council of CDSs is in charge of coordinating all the activities of the CDSs in a group or level of the neighborhood or district.

The Council is made up of the representatives of each CDS in its respec-

tive group. The Council elects coordinators of health, supplies, propaganda, culture and sports, and communal work. These coordinators work closely with the coordinators of the same work in each committee. For example, if vaccinations are being organized, the person in charge of health for the Council of CDSs will meet with those in charge of health in each CDS.

Each Council of CDSs elects by popular vote one to four delegates (depending on the total number of Councils in the neighborhood or district) to constitute the Sandinista Neighborhood or District Committee.

The basic function of the Councils of CDSs is to report all the worries and suggestions of the CDSs to the Sandinista Neighborhood or District Committee, and at the same time, to inform all the CDSs in its group or level of the plans and policies that will be put into effect.

The Sandinista Neighborhood or District Committee

This is the highest representative body of each neighborhood or district. It is the democratically elected authority for the residents of a sector. It must faithfully reflect their will, and in the event that it doesn't represent the residents or stops representing their interests, it must be changed.

It is the intermediate body between the ministries and the residents for carrying out all the plans for raising the standard of living and putting the political program of the revolution into action. It provides political guidance for the CDSs for defense of the revolution, and is to be linked closely with the directors of the FSLN in the Regional Councils of Sandinista Neighborhood or District Committees.

Within the Sandinista Neighborhood or District Committee two representatives to the Regional Council must be elected, and a coordinator of health, supplies, propaganda, culture and sports, communal work, and of other activity that is taking place in the area—housing, for example. These coordinators will work with those in charge of the various tasks from each Regional Council and each CDS.

For example, in the case of the vaccination campaign, the *compañero* in charge of health from the Neighborhood Committee must meet with all those in charge of health from each CDS in the neighborhood and plan a list of those to be vaccinated, how it is going to be set up, who will be in charge of making sure that all the children come, and so forth.

The Neighborhood Committee is in charge of administering all the money collected by the CDSs. This money will be utilized for the principal needs of propaganda, organization, and others that the committee considers necessary.

Whatever activity is carried out must be under the authorization and supervision of the Sandinista Neighborhood Committee.

Regional Councils of Sandinista Neighborhood or District Committees

These are set up in line with the regions of the city. It is important that no Council encompass more than twenty-five neighborhoods or communities. The Regional Councils of Sandinista Neighborhood Committees are made up of two representatives from each neighborhood, elected democratically in their respective Neighborhood Committee. These two representatives

Continued on next page

Aid committee answers 'Guardian'

How Pol Pot spurred Kampuchea famine

The following article appeared in the October 24, 1979, issue of the 'Guardian.' The author, Christiane Dumont, works with the Quebec Committee for Aid to Vietnam and recently visited Kampuchea.

The 'Guardian' has been supporting the remnants of Pol Pot's forces in Kampuchea against the Heng Samrin government and its Vietnamese allies, despite the support given Pol Pot by U.S. imperialism.

Dumont replies to articles in the 'Guardian' echoing claims by the U.S. State Department and capitalist media that the Vietnamese government is responsible for the famine in Kampuchea, and that the Heng Samrin government is obstructing the delivery of food aid.

By CHRISTIANE DUMONT

Having just traveled for one week in Kampuchea, this September, I feel obliged to reply to William Ryan's article concerning the famine in Kampuchea (Guardian, Sept. 5). I was able to visit Phnom Penh and Kompong Speu and the eastern region from Phnom Penh to the Vietnamese border, as well as the regions northwest and southwest of Phnom Penh.

I visited the old Pol Pot prison of Tuol Slang; I also visited factories, hospitals, orphanages, markets and schools, all of them functioning only since January 1979. I had the opportunity to talk directly with many people from different walks of life, everyone of whom witnessed the horror under the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime. They all agreed with what I am about to tell you.

Ryan estimates the actual population of Kampuchea to be 5 million. How did 3 million people disappear in those four years, 1975-1978?

The Kampucheans told us that there were many massacres but, that in addition, many people died of hunger, exhaustion, and disease. Ryan says there was no shortage of rice during the dictatorial regime of Pol Pot. You are not wrong.

The Kampucheans confirmed for us that they all had to work in the countryside long hours everyday to cultivate the rice and construct irrigation systems. Besides the usual work force, children over seven and old people barely able to stand up were forced to work. So rice and irrigation systems they certainly had.

But for all this work they didn't have rice to eat. As soon as it was harvested, it disappeared. (Could it have been for export?) Almost everyone received only two bowls of soup daily, which consisted of water, and one spoonful of rice. Some lucky people were able to have two bowls of rice a day during the two months of harvesting. The rest of the year they were reduced to the same rations as everyone else.

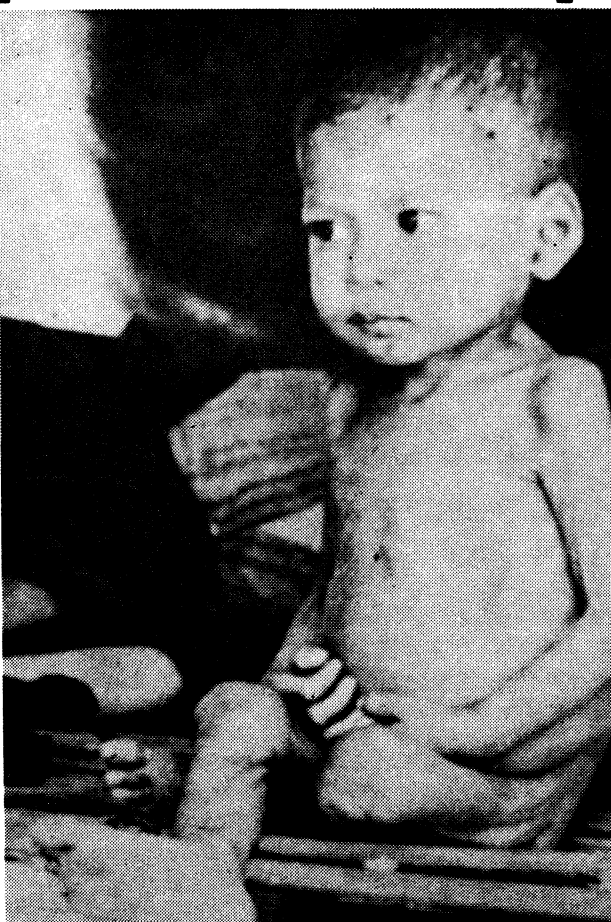
FOOD STILL INSUFFICIENT

Some people told us that they had survived by stealing fruits and vegetables during the night, at the risk of severe penalties, even death. Those who were unable to work because of illness received no rations at all.

When Ryan says "There were no reports of starvation" from 1975-1978, I must remind you that there were no reports of anything at all during this time.

Many people told me that they receive now more food than during the Pol Pot regime, but it is still not sufficient.

Only some people mentioned clinics—but when they did, they were always dirty ones, or ones with



Kampuchean people need massive aid from United States to overcome damage done by Pol Pot regime.

medicine that was of no use or improperly used, or ones whose personnel had no training (sometimes girls of 10-12 years).

Others told us that they never saw a clinic in all those four years. Everyone told us that most of the doctors were killed by the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime.

Ryan mentions that there are 10 deaths for every child born in Kampuchea now. I myself question that statistic. But what is true is that there is a serious problem; there are very few births now.

The few remaining doctors explained to us why. Under the regime of Pol Pot-Ieng Sary, 70% of the women stopped their menstruation because of extremely hard work and malnutrition. Also couples were often separated for months and sometimes years because of the policies of the regime of Pol Pot, which divided families. Now these separated couples are still trying to find each other. Furthermore, many couples became single because of the death of a spouse.

As I said before, there certainly were irrigation systems. The Kampucheans, children included, had to work like slaves to construct ditches, dams and reservoirs, which are found now to be poorly designed and badly constructed. The fact is that most of the engineers were massacred. Those among them who survived were not used to draw up plans for these works. It seems that the whole irrigation system has to be redone.

Ryan does not give any explanation for the lack of agricultural, fishing and other equipment. This "severe shortage," as he says, doesn't come out of thin air. For example, from 1975-1978 fishing diminished dramatically. In certain regions anyone caught fishing could be killed. Furthermore, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime took great pride in the fact that their country was constructed completely by hand. They scorned every kind of mechanization. The abandoned and pillaged factories near Phnom

Penh bear witness to that.

PRESENT SITUATION

Would people who during nearly four years were malnourished, inhumanly overworked, separated from their families, uprooted from their homes, deprived of any kind of health care or education for their children, who were even deprived of mosquito netting basic for protection against malaria, do you think that these people, now shocked and sick, could recover as soon as they saw liberation troops? There is no doubt in the minds of the Kampucheans that the present deaths and diseases are a direct consequence of the serious crimes of Pol Pot against his own people.

Ryan talks about people who have been uprooted and are now without administration, as if this too, were caused by the new government. Most of the population of Kampuchea was uprooted by Pol Pot. The people of Kompong Speu were removed to Battambang and vice-versa. This is only one example.

The entire population of Phnom Penh was given two hours to two days in which to leave their city and move to the countryside in 1975. People, now, are still in transit, trying to get back to their villages, and hoping to find their relatives. As to the lack of administration, many of the former cadres of the party were eliminated by the Pol Pot regime because they were opposed to the policy of the Angkar (Party of Pol Pot).

Because this regime was very suspicious, especially against educated people, many of them were also eliminated.

But in spite of this, I saw many villages with schools, local defense militia, little markets and so on.

HANDLING AID

Ryan seems to say that the new government is wasting its time discussing the way aid should be distributed by relief organizations. I find it natural that an independent government would want to handle this kind of activity and direct its own government. I met in Phnom Penh some officials of UNICEF, Red Cross, Oxfam who told me they were surprised and happy to meet efficacy and rapidity in the distribution of goods.

Ryan qualifies this government as a "Vietnamese-imposed regime." Imposed on whom? People I met often told me without my asking that their lives were saved by the new government.

When Ryan talks about the Vietnamese government, he does not make himself clear. Either they do too much or they do too little. They are reproached for aiding the Kampucheans to save their lives and at the same time reproached for not helping them recover.

Vietnam now gives aid in the form of rice, mosquito netting, fabrics and medicine, all of which it can little afford to give up. Ryan complains about the lack of aid from the USSR and Vietnam, and that everything is in the hands of UNICEF. I say it is up to all the progressive peoples around the world to come to their aid.

The Kampuchean people are facing enormous difficulties. Despite this, they go back to work preparing the next season's crops. People are also working in schools and hospitals which are functioning now after having been closed for nearly four years. I am certain that if they receive adequate help, the Kampuchean people will be able to reconstruct their country and in a few years will be self-supporting.

...Sandinistas

Continued from preceding page

are permanent and must carry out the task of raising at the Council the problems, positive experiences, and plans of their neighborhood or district. In addition, they have to report to their Sandinista Neighborhood or District Committee on all the decisions, policies, and discussions from the Council in order to achieve unity of agreement throughout the people's organization. Moreover, in this way effective coordi-

nation of all the forces in a region will be achieved.

The Regional Councils are decision-making bodies of a region and therefore represent a leadership body of the masses. With the formation of the Regional Councils the organizational basis of people's power is being established.

After the Regional Councils of the Neighborhood or District Committees, Municipal Councils will be formed, but

not until the Regional Councils have been consolidated and are prepared to take this step.

Functioning

1. The Regional Council of the Sandinista Neighborhood Committees must meet once a week to carry out the general plans of each region, to find solutions for the problems. The Regional Councils must keep minutes of its meetings and each representative must report the discussions and decisions to the Sandinista Neighborhood

or District Committees.

2. The Sandinista Neighborhood Committee must meet once a week, after the meeting of the Regional Councils. This Committee also has to present minutes of its meetings to that Council.

3. The Councils of CDSs must meet once a week, within two days after the Sandinista Neighborhood Committees.

4. The CDSs must meet a minimum of once a week, and all the CDSs in the neighborhood or district must meet on the same day.

'Glad to give young unionists a chance'

By Valerie Libby

CINCINNATI—An all-out effort by campaigners around the state to put Andrew Pulley and Matilde Zimmermann on the Ohio ballot caught up and moved ahead of schedule this week.

Daytime petitioning teams coupled with rush-hour petitioning brought the statewide total to 14,512 signatures. With one week left in the Ohio drive, petitioning organizers are going all out to reach the 20,000 goal.

The high petitioner on Saturday was a steelworker who works nine hours a day, six days a week. He collected 131 signatures before going to work on Saturday.

The petitioning drive is a combined effort to put the Pulley-Zimmermann ticket and John Powers, an auto worker from Cleveland and Socialist Workers candidate for U.S. Senate, on the 1980 Ohio ballot.

Veteran petitioners report that the response this year has been the best ever. The attitude of many workers around the state was summed up by a retired garment worker who signed in Cincinnati. "All those politicians in office are crooks. All they care about is big profits. I'd be glad to give these

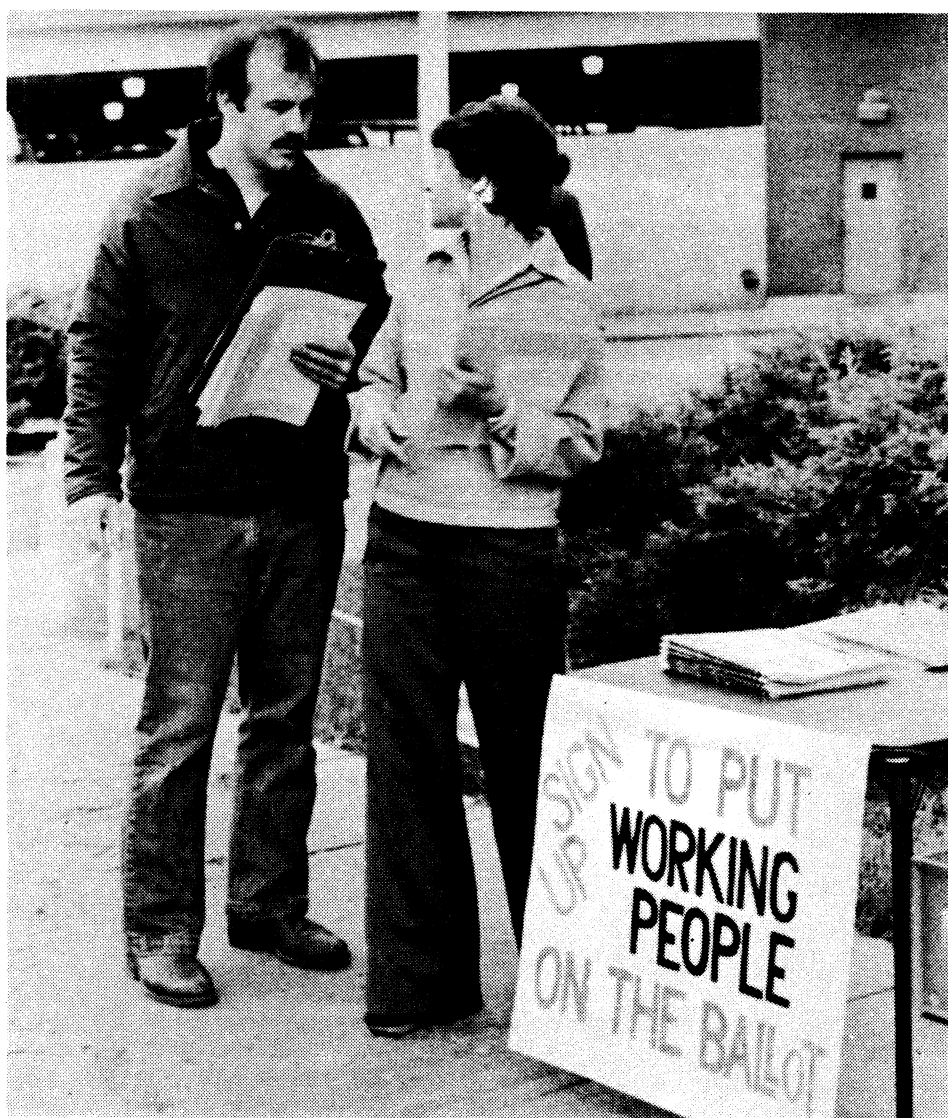
young unionists a chance to run."

Groups of petitioners who traveled to three campuses near Dayton collected 490 signatures in one afternoon. A student at Central State University was so enthusiastic about the campaign that he turned to other students walking through the campus mall and said, "A brother's going to run for president. Everyone come get in line to sign up to get him on the ballot." Half a dozen of his friends came over and got in line.

Campus petitioning has netted several thousand signatures in the Ohio drive. A group of petitioners at Wright State University, also near Dayton, reported that Andrew Pulley was invited to speak next spring by the University Lecture Committee.

Here in Cincinnati, campaign supporters are encouraging signers to come hear Andrew Pulley at a rally October 28. One young Black man said, "Hey, Andrew Pulley. Is he running again? I voted for him in 1972 when he ran for vice president. I'd like to come hear him speak. I never met him in 1972."

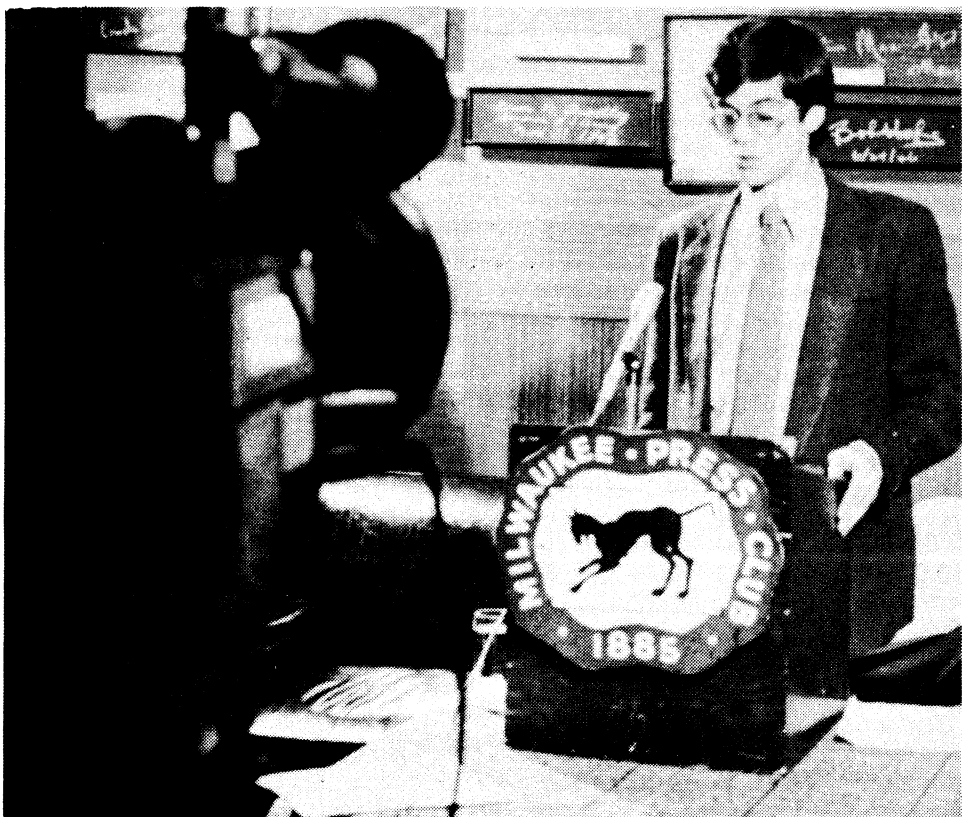
The rally will also feature Mark Rahn, a member of USWA Local 1858, running for Cincinnati City Council on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.



Militant/L. Paltrineri

Ohio petitioners report enthusiastic response to socialist candidates

Milwaukee rail worker enters race for mayor



Militant/John Beadle

Matthew Herreshoff announces campaign for mayor of Milwaukee

By John Beadle

MILWAUKEE—Matthew Herreshoff, a twenty-one-year-old Milwaukee Road employee and a member of Brotherhood of Firemen and Oilers Local Lodge 763, announced his candidacy for mayor of Milwaukee on the Socialist Workers Party ticket.

At an October 16 press conference, attended by both major dailies and two network-affiliated television stations, Herreshoff blasted the deliberate bankruptcy of the Milwaukee Road.

"The Milwaukee Road bankruptcy is a perfect example of how our private property system works. The railroad bosses, the banks, the courts, and congress have all put the needs of the railroad's stock and bond holders ahead of the needs of working people. They say the railroad isn't profitable: its stockholders demand dividends, its bondholders demand interest," Herreshoff said.

Herreshoff calls for nationalizing the Milwaukee Road. At the press conference, he noted that "hundreds of railroad workers have already signed and are circulating petitions calling for nationalization of the railroad."

"The Milwaukee Road must be taken out of private hands and administered by a publicly elected board."

"My opponent, Mayor Henry Maier, has already indicated his acceptance of the railroad owners' plans to embargo 6,300 miles of track and lay off 4,000 workers," noted Herreshoff.

The socialist candidate told the assembled media, "Working people need to band together to face our problems."

"Central to this is the need for workers to form a political party which serves our own interests. Neither the Democrats nor Republicans can represent both labor and the employers any more than a union can represent both the workers and the bosses."

The following day, many of Herreshoff's co-workers on the Milwaukee Road told him how surprised they were to see a worker running for mayor. One Native American worker said he would vote for Herreshoff and was going to bring his entire family to the campaign rally on November 3. Along with Herreshoff, the featured speaker at that rally will be Andrew Pulley, the Socialist Workers presidential candidate.

...energy

Continued from back page

Workers union Local 5-6 and 5-194, who are on strike against Laclede Gas.

In several cities, young auto workers and machinists constituted the bulk of the protesters. In Milwaukee, *Militant* correspondent Halket Allen reports that of the almost 600 people at an evening rally, large contingents came from UAW Local 1866 and UE Local 1111.

An evening protest outside ARCO offices in Philadelphia drew 200 young union members, mostly from UE Local 107 at the giant Westinghouse plant. One of the best receptions was given to Ron Dean, president of UE Local 155 who explained, "We need a labor party. The Democrats and Republicans have sold us out. The United Electrical Workers union is on record for such a party."

Other protests reported to the *Militant* included:

- In Los Angeles, nearly 1,000 rallied at two locations and heard IAM president William Winpisinger call on

labor to take the lead in the fight against the oil monopolies.

- In Kansas City, seventy-five people picketed in front of the Department of Energy.

- In the Bay Area, 150 rallied in front of the Chevron Building in San Francisco and 100 protested in San José.

- In Toledo, the day began with a picket at the Sun Oil refinery and culminated in a meeting of 250 at the UAW Local 12 union hall.

- In New Jersey, members of more than a dozen unions attended an evening protest meeting in Newark, culminating a day of activities in cities throughout the state.

* * *

Hundreds of copies of the *Militant* were bought by unionists participating in the October 17 protests. Proposals by SWP presidential candidate Andrew Pulley were featured on the back page.

"The energy industry must be taken over by the government—national-

ized—and converted into a public utility," the statement read. "Management of the nationalized energy industry should be put into the hands of an elected board that will function under close scrutiny of unions and consumer groups. Books and records must be open, meetings public, everything out in the open."

Nora Danielson, SWP candidate for mayor of Philadelphia, issued a statement on the energy swindle. She explained how a party of working people, based on the trade unions, could fight for nationalization and for ending the lies and secrecy of the oil companies.

SWP candidates participated in the energy protests in other cities. In Cleveland, John Powers, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate, participated with more than 100 other unionists at a downtown rally, where forty people signed petitions for Powers' right to be on the Ohio ballot. Powers raised his proposals for the unions to take the initiative to form a labor party in a UAW sponsored workshop following the rally.

In New Orleans, Greg Nelson, the

SWP's candidate for governor, joined with twenty-five other steel, auto, and oil workers at a local protest.

Exxon profits up 119 percent

Less than a week after the October 17 protests, the Biggest Oil of them all—Exxon Corporation—reported its third-quarter profits rose by 119 percent to \$1.15 billion. It was the first billion-dollar quarter Exxon had ever reported.

Exxon racked up these record profits at the same time as the amount of oil it sold declined! It made up for the lost volume with higher prices.

Other oil companies didn't do so badly either. Atlantic Richfield Company reported a 43.6 percent increase in profits and Standard Oil Company of Indiana, 49 percent.

A critical look at 'Black Macho'

Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman. By Michele Wallace. The Dial Press, 1979, 177 pages.

For Ntozake Shange

how is it that they come
to say you hate black men
that your waters are polluted
& your blood runs every color
but red
do not kill them
because they come naked into the
forest
they are only uprooted trees
too ripe for spring or love
i have listened to their voices
in groups of threes & fours
i have overheard their hatred
for your plays and poems
i have watched them try to spell
your name
failing like europeans deciphering
hieroglyphics
how is it that you are so
misunderstood
by blindmen who call their blindness
blackness
& women who would turn all men
to stone

—E. Ethelbert Miller*

At the conclusion of a three-part interview with Michele Wallace, author of *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman*, Vivian Massingale of the San Francisco *Sun Reporter* writes of Wallace's book:

"... she does make some strong and valid points in her book; but even if all her points were valid and true, wouldn't it dispel the idea that Black women's superwomanhood was a myth simply because we're still hanging in there and still trying apparently against all odd odds?"

This question goes right to the heart of the fallacy of Wallace's book. Instead of exposing the myths about Black manhood and Black womanhood that have been foisted upon Afro-Americans by centuries of racist oppression, Wallace reinforces those myths. For her, the history of our victimization by racism rests on the fulcrum of the sexual politics within the Black community. And, even more dangerously, the oppression of Black women rests not with a racist, sexist, and exploitative society, but with Black men.

It would be an oversimplification to say that Wallace's views are a variation on the theme of Daniel Moynihan's 1965 U.S. Government report "The Negro Family: The Case for National Action," which laid the problems of the Black community at the feet of the so-called Black matriarchy. But Wallace and Moynihan both make a vulgar caricature of the Black experience in a racist society. It is almost as though Wallace were saying, "No, it's not a Black matriarchy that's the cause of all of our problems—it's Black macho."

One of the most galling assertions in her book is her characterization of the civil rights and Black struggles as some kind of Black macho ego trip on the part of such Black leaders as Stokely Carmichael, H. Rap Brown, Imamu Amiri Baraka, and Eldridge Cleaver. Malcolm X is labeled a "black patriarch."

The struggle of millions to strike down and bury Jim Crow segregation



Militant/Caroline Lund

and to try to build a movement against racist oppression is reduced to a discussion of the psycho-sexual dynamics of the personalities of a select handful of Black leaders. Michele Wallace's grasp of Black history and of the Black struggle, as shown in this book, is shallow, impressionistic, and at times, actually contemptuous.

The reader is given no appreciation for the changes in political thinking that evolved in the Black movement over the past twenty-five years or the context in which those changes took place. In fact there is very little that is *political* in her descriptions of a political movement.

In describing the impact of the Moynihan Report on the Black community, Wallace writes:

"... Moynihan bared the black man's secret for all to see—that he had never been able to get his woman to get down on her knees. ... Come 1966, the black man had two pressing tasks before him: a white woman in every bed and a black woman under every heel. Out of this sense of urgency came a struggle called the Black Movement, which was nothing more nor less than the black man's struggle to attain his presumably lost 'manhood.' And so America had tightened the noose, although it did not know it yet; by controlling the black man's notion of what a black man was supposed to be, it would successfully control the very goals of his struggle for 'freedom.'"

And later she asserts, "The driving force behind the movement had really very little to do with bread and butter needs. The motive was revenge. It was not equality that was primarily being pursued but a kind of superiority—black manhood, black macho—which would combine the ghetto cunning, cool and unrestrained sexuality of black survival with the unchecked authority, control, and wealth of white power."

Wallace's definitive statement on the reason why the Black Power Movement failed to end racism seems to be the following:

"And when the black man went as far as the adoration of his own genitals could carry him, his revolution stopped. A big Afro, a rifle, and a penis in good working order were not enough to lick the white man's world after all." Based on Wallace's descriptions, the Black movement was led by a group of psychopaths driven by unrestrained urges.

The true history of the Black struggle flies in the face of Wallace's claims that the movement grew out of some

kind of urgent need on the part of Black men to suppress women—both Black and white. Her descriptions of many Black leaders make them out to be spoiled children having temper tantrums. And, at times, it is easy to forget that this book was written by a Black woman.

Contrary to Wallace, the Black movement of the sixties tried to come to grips with the fact that civil rights legislation alone did not improve the situation for the overwhelming majority of Black people in this country. In fact, Blacks as a whole lost ground in terms of income compared to whites. What Wallace fails to understand is that the situation that Blacks are in today is the result of racist oppression and not the result of any failings in the interrelationships between Black men and women. Black men as well as women are the *victims* of this oppression—not the perpetrators of its. But this fact weighs only lightly in Wallace's thinking. She would have us think that racism is something belonging more to the long ago than the here and now as evidenced in her message to Black women:

"Yes it is very important that we never forget the tragedy of our history or how racist white people have been or how the black man has let us down. But all of that must be set in its proper perspective. It belongs to the past and we must belong to the future. The future is something we can control. When I began this book, I thought it would be about what the black woman is, but this book has turned out to be what has happened to her. She has yet to become what she is."

It is truly unfortunate that one of the first books to attempt to discuss the legitimate concerns of Black feminism fails so badly in its analysis of the oppression of Black women as Blacks and as women.

A valuable contribution to this whole question could have been made had Wallace looked into the role that Black women have played throughout our history, how it is that Black women are especially oppressed, and how the Black movement as a whole must champion the demands for women's rights as they affect Black women. Such a contribution could help to expose the racist and sexist nature of the system under which we live.

While Wallace labels Black women "reactionary" for not embracing feminism, she presents a false picture of what feminism is. No mention is made of affirmative-action programs to open

up jobs previously barred to women; or of equal pay for equal work; or of the need for good, quality child-care centers; or an end to forced sterilization or access to safe methods of birth control and the right to abortion. All of these are concerns which directly affect Black women. And Black women have the most to gain from them.

Wallace's conception of feminism is not very concrete. Her main fire is directed at what she sees as both the sexism of Black men and at what she sees as a deep hatred between Black men and women. The logic of this is that Black women must fight Black men. There is no doubt that there are many Black men who hold backward ideas about women.

But even if there were no Black men who held sexist ideas, would that end the oppression of Black women in this society? No. Black men have no power to deny Black women a decent job, decent housing, or a good education on the basis of sex.

Black men have no vested interest in sexism. Sexism is part and parcel of the capitalist system just as racism is. What conflicts there are between Black men and women exist as a reflection of our position as an oppressed minority in this country. Our oppression is not one-sided—it is economic, social, political, and sexual. Our fight against that oppression must address itself to all of these.

That's why it is also unfortunate that some critics of Wallace's book tend to throw the baby out with the bath water. In taking her definition of Black feminism for good coin, they dismiss the validity of a fight for the rights of Black women altogether.

Some use Wallace's book as a convenient excuse to confirm their already existing hostility toward the women's movement as it affects Black women. This is evidenced by such critics as M. Ron Karenga, Robert Staples, and Alvin Poussaint who lump *Black Macho and the Myth of the Superwoman* together with Ntozake Shange's *For Colored Girls Who Have Considered Suicide When the Rainbow Is Enuf*. While Wallace's book makes Black men and women willing co-conspirators in our oppression, Shange's choreopoem is a celebration of Black women.

It is the stuff from which *For Colored Girls* is made that the proud history of Black women will be written and not from books like *Black Macho* which serve only to cloud the true nature of our oppression.

—Laura Moorhead

* *The Black Scholar*, P.O. Box 908, Sausalito, California 94965. From special May/June 1979 issue on "The Black Sexism Debate." Copyright 1979. Reprinted with permission.

Ford workers protest 'KKK' foreman

By Elizabeth Ziers

DETROIT—One day in late September workers at Ford's Dearborn Assembly Plant reacted with shock and disbelief when a general foreman paraded through in a Ku Klux Klan hat.

They could plainly see that right there on the floor of a plant where the workforce is 40 percent Black, general foreman Tim McKulen was wearing a hand-fashioned, white, coneshaped hat with "KKK" emblazoned in red across the front. Foreman Fred Beinke also wore the hat.

A number of workers complained to the company labor relations representatives and then went to the local union to demand that it force Ford to take action against these racists.

The following day, September 26, United Auto Workers officials gathered signatures from workers who had seen the incident. A meeting was scheduled with assembly plant management to demand that the two foremen be fired.

Elizabeth Ziers is a member of United Auto Workers Local 600 at Ford's River Rouge plant.

But Ford was not eager to take action against two loyal servants solely because they played a "joke" (Ford's word) on the workers.

Ford spokesman James Spezzano later said the company "regrets" the incident and considered it "highly inappropriate."

After all, management must have reasoned, the foremen *did* get out production. To Ford, the problem was not that the foremen were racist, but only that they showed it so boldly to the world.

General foreman McKulen was still on the floor two days later. The workers, Black and white, were outraged. A few walked off the line at 6 p.m.

Ford had obviously caught wind of the walkout beforehand because the area was immediately swamped with elegantly shirted-and-tied managers. Area foremen fingered anyone they thought could be blamed for walking off the line or instigating a walkoff. Production resumed in a few minutes.

The next day, union officials demanded that no workers be disciplined for the walkoff and that McKulen be removed.

Ford realized it had egg on its face and conceded to the demand for no reprisals against those who walked off. McKulen has reportedly been trans-

ferred to another department.

About a week after the racist incident some workers at the plant circulated a petition demanding the two supervisors be fired. More than 1,000 workers signed it.

We feel that by all rights McKulen should have been fired. But we also realize that Ford has a lot more racist foremen to take his place. And we know that putting a Black supervisor in McKulen's place, as has been rumored, won't end racism in our plant either.

It is in Ford's interest, as is the case for all corporations, to encourage and use racism on the plant floor. It helps to intimidate workers, Black and white, and it keeps us fighting each other, instead of the company.

But the response to this incident by both Black and white workers and by the union officials is a step toward ending those divisions. As the president of the Dearborn Assembly Plant unit of Local 600, John Vawters, wrote in a flyer on the racist provocation: "I am also warning the company that we will not tolerate any more occurrences of this nature. If it happens again, the next time it will be much more than just a *limited walkout*."

Arab mayor calls for Palestine human rights

By Stan Hills

ANN ARBOR, Mich.—"We are not the enemy of the Jewish people. We are the enemy of anyone who wants to take our rights away," said Fahd Kawasmah, mayor of Hebron. He was speaking to an audience of 100 people at the University of Michigan recently on conditions in the Israeli-occupied West Bank one year after the Camp David accords. Hebron is a town in the West Bank. The lecture was sponsored by the Ann Arbor Palestinian Human Rights Committee and other organizations.

Kawasmah described how 400,000 Palestinians became refugees during the 1967 war in which the West Bank was occupied, and how the Israeli government demolished Palestinian villages which had been deserted during the war.

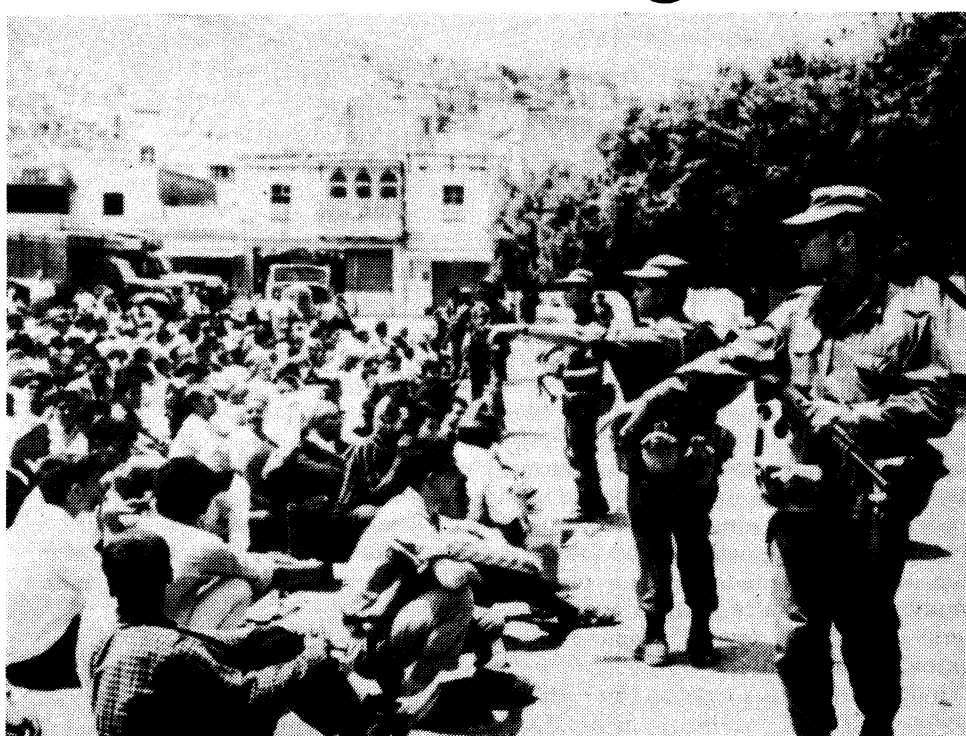
He blamed both the Israeli and the U.S. governments for the Zionist settlements being built today. "The U.S. government gives Israel the money to build settlements and then they say it is illegal," he explained. "They say

peace, but they give Israel their modern technology."

Kawasmah compared discrimination against Palestinians to the way Blacks are treated in this country. He hailed the dialogue between U.S. Black leaders and the Palestine Liberation Organization. "I believe the initiative started by the Blacks to defend our rights will be continued by whites."

Kawasmah countered the lie that Palestinians are terrorists. "We don't want to kill any of the Jews and we don't want to destroy. We want our rights. . . . Can you believe a population of four million terrorists?" Pointing out that during the past six months the Israeli armed forces had destroyed sixteen villages and ten refugee camps in southern Lebanon he asked, "Who are the terrorists?"

At the end of his talk Kawasmah spoke of the Camp David accords. "The simplest right is for a people to decide for themselves. How do you expect me to accept Camp David? As a Palestinian I can't even be part of a delegation."



Israeli soldiers guard large group of Arab detainees at one of the identification centers in occupied Arab territories.

Fla. nuke: record of breakdown and waste

By Arnold Weissberg

This is the story of a \$435 million lemon—Florida Power's Crystal River Number Three nuclear power plant. It's a story that might be screamingly funny if it were about a television set, but because it's about a device that holds enough radioactivity in its heart to kill everyone on earth, it's really not funny. It may, though, make you scream.

To begin with, Crystal River came in \$300 million over budget and four years behind schedule. It finally went on line in early 1977.

A year passed without major incident. Then plant workers heard metal rattling around in one of the plant's two steam generators. Now, if you heard metal rattling around inside, say your *dishwasher*, let alone your \$435 million nuclear power plant, you'd shut it down and try to fix it before you ran the thing again.

But not Florida Power. The company did inspect the generator, and found a large metal casing that had probably been part of the reactor core. But rather than shut the plant down, Florida Power decided to operate it for two more weeks until a scheduled refueling. Shutdowns cost money, you see.

So they ran it at reduced power. This, according to Nuclear Regulatory Commission records, resulted in widespread damage in the steam generator. The damage forced the plant out of operation for several months.

In the course of repairing the damage, a two-thousand-pound weight dropped on some reactor fuel, thus putting the reactor out of action for another three months.

This delay cost Florida Power's customers nearly

\$28 million in added fuel costs, which Florida Power is permitted to pass on. Thus 725,000 residents of the Gulf Coast were forced to pick up the tab.

Because Crystal River Number Three was designed by Babcock & Wilcox, which also designed Three Mile Island, it was required to shut down earlier this year for modifications after the Harrisburg accident. This shutdown also turned into a tragedy.

Two days after the shutdown, a plant worker died when he fell into a spent fuel storage pit. His body had to be decontaminated before it could be released.

Two weeks after the plant went on line briefly, one of its four pumps that drive cooling water through the reactor core failed. The reactor shut itself down. Florida Power decided to try and run the plant at 72 percent capacity without the pump.

This failed. The reactor shut itself off again—as a result of new instrument settings made after Three Mile Island.

The company tried twice more to start the reactor up, and failed both times.

Finally, the NRC stepped in. "We decided that was enough," an NRC representative told the *Miami Herald*. "After four tries, we told the company we thought the pump ought to be repaired." Why the company was allowed even *one* try was not explained.

While repairs were in progress, 82,000 gallons of radioactive water were discharged into an open pool beside the reactor. Five days later, another 27,000 gallons went the same route.

"After the second time," the NRC representative said, "we told them to put a red tag on the valve,

lock it in position, and call us forty-eight hours before they planned to use it again."

Sounds like a good idea for the entire plant.

Florida Power responded by firing William Nichols, the plant superintendent. Nichols had twenty years experience with nuclear reactors, and voiced a frightening thought.

"The same problems exist at all of the other plants," Nichols told the *Herald*. "Crystal River is no different than any of them."

Lessons for the fight against nukes

Out Now! A Participant's Account of the American Movement against the Vietnam War

By Fred Halstead. The dramatic story of the antiwar movement, told by one of its central leaders and organizers. Monad. 759 pp., cloth \$30, paper, \$8.95.

And for reading on the hazards of nuclear power . . .

Nuclear Power by Walter Patterson. Penguin Book, 302 pp., \$3.50

We Almost Lost Detroit by John G. Fuller. Ballantine, 288 pp., \$1.95.

Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include \$.50 for postage, \$.75 if order for more than one book.

L.A. unionists to discuss labor party

By Walter Lippmann

LOS ANGELES—The feasibility of establishing a labor party will be discussed by six Los Angeles-area trade unionists at a November 16 panel sponsored by the Social Services Union Local 535.

The meeting is in response to the Labor Day message of California AFL-CIO Executive Secretary-Treasurer John Henning, who called on the unions to consider forming their own political party.

The panelists will include: Pete Beltran, president of United Auto Workers Local 645 at the General Motors plant, Van Nuys.

David D. Crippen, executive director, Local 535 and member of the international executive board of the 600,000-member Service Employees International Union (SEIU).

Woody Fleming, political action coordinator, SEIU Joint Council 8.

Elinor Glenn, president, SEIU Joint Council 8.

Raoul Teilet, president, California Federation of Teachers.

John T. Williams, former official, Teamsters Local 208.

In his Labor Day message, Henning had declared: "Labor's dilemma is clear enough: the two party system is no longer serving the economic and social interests of the American working people. Indeed, the two parties appear simply one institution, with Democratic and Republican departments alike financed by the corporate community."

The panel discussion will take place Friday, November 16, 7:30 p.m., at the United Teacher/Los Angeles auditorium, 2511 West Third Street, west of Alvarado, Los Angeles.

All unionists and others concerned with the future of the labor movement are invited. For further information call Local 535 at (213) 385-9321.

Hit massive new L.A. deportation sweeps

By Joanne Tortorici

LOS ANGELES—Despite bitter community protests, the Immigration and Naturalization Service, better known in the Chicano and *mexicano* communities as *la migra*, has renewed its "sweeps."

On October 22, angry pickets marched in front of the INS office here demanding a halt to the raids and the firing of local INS director Joseph Howerton. Earlier, INS officials in Washington said the large-scale roundups initiated by Howerton "seems to fall within our limits."

In these racist raids, *migra* cops bring buses into the barrios and stop people on the street who "look Mexican." If they can't produce papers, they are taken away for deportation.

Legal residents and citizens have found themselves across the border because they didn't have adequate documents on them.

Mario Obledo, state attorney of health and welfare, wired President Carter demanding "an instant moratorium" on the sweeps,

which he characterized as "gestapo-type storm-trooper raids on Hispanic neighborhoods."

Such raids had been discontinued two years ago after strong community protest.

Then, the *migra* agents began raiding workplaces known to hire undocumented immigrants. In many cases they targeted garment and other shops where the superexploited workers were trying to unionize.

The factory raids were curbed a year ago, when the International Ladies Garment Workers Union took the INS to court, arguing that raids without warrants naming specific individuals were unconstitutional.

Pending a court decision, *la migra* suspended warrantless raids. It still hits shops where the owner gives them permission to enter—something that frequently occurs the day before payday.

The ILGWU suit is slated to be heard in November.

(On October 4, in a similar case, a federal judge in Washington, D.C., ruled that

warrantless raids are illegal.)

The new round of barrio sweeps began in August. Since then, INS Director Howerton boasts, the number of people arrested here has increased 50 percent, for a total of 865 a week.

And, throughout the vast barrios of Los Angeles, no brown-skinned person can walk the street without concern.



Militant/Walter Lippman

of military origin, working under civilian contract to protect the areas in and around Saudi Arabia's eastern oil fields. . . ."

The *Economist* archly inquires: "Could it be . . . that these officially civilian Americans have started being pictured in lightweight fatigues? Or, . . . are more of them actually wearing them?"

TWO SETBACKS FOR RACISTS

Two recent gains have been won in the fight against the brutalization of undocumented Mexican immigrants.

In San Diego, four border cops were indicted for beating undocumented immigrants after arresting them.

And in Arizona, federal indictments were brought against two ranchers previously acquitted by a white jury of beating and robbing two immigrants.

The indictment of the border cops is said to be the first such in the history of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

In one case, a *mexicano* coming across the border allegedly made an improper finger gesture at the arresting border cop.

He was taken to a van, his hand placed on the floor and beaten repeatedly with a nightstick.

The indictments stem from growing outrage on both sides of the border against the wholesale brutality practiced by the racist *migra* agents.

One federal study details the severe beatings suffered by twenty-three people arrested by the border patrol. Some of the injuries were so bad that the victims were brought to court in wheelchairs.

In Arizona, there had been a persistent outcry against the acquittal of Patrick and Thomas Hanigan who beat, tortured, and robbed the two migrants. Finally the federal government yielded to the demand for federal prosecution in the 1977 case.

VA. PROTEST HITS KLAN

By Dave Zilly

NORFOLK, Va.—More than 600 people protested the Tidewater visit of Ku Klux Klan Imperial Wizard Bill Wilkinson

BROWN-LUNG VICTIMS SUE TEXTILE GIANTS

Two of the country's largest textile producers are being sued for millions of dollars on behalf of workers who contracted brown lung, a disease caused by breathing cotton dust.

Class-action suits are being filed against West Point-Pepperell of Georgia, and Burlington Industries of North Carolina.

The West Point-Pepperell suit charges that the company covered up the fact that the plaintiff, Nat Wilkins, a twenty-seven-year employee, had brown lung. Wilkins charges that West Point-Pepperell also refused to give him a job in a less hazardous part of the plant, and failed to tell him he could qualify for workers compensation.

In the Burlington case, the suit charges that the company knew of cotton dust-related

medical problems in a group of sixty-one workers in 1970, but refused to tell some of them they were sick, and others what illness they had or what caused it.

The U.S. Department of Labor estimates that 85,000 textile workers have lung disease problems entitling them to compensation.

HOW MANY GI'S ARE ALREADY IN MIDEAST?

If anyone doubts that the American ruling class is serious about the possible use of U.S. troops in the oil-rich Mideast, they should check out the October 13 issue of the *Economist*, the authoritative London weekly.

There are, the magazine reports, some two dozen U.S. military advisers in Saudi Arabia, headed by two generals. "The job of this tiny group," the *Economist* explains, "is

primarily to improve Saudi Arabia's own defenses but also, it is assumed, to prepare the ground for any use there of American forces. . . ."

The magazine adds that, according to its information, a two-squadron revolving flight of U.S. combat aircraft is using Saudi airfields and is serviced by American personnel.

"We also believe," the *Economist* states, "that there are about 1,000 American servicemen, including Army engineers, stationed in Saudi Arabia."

The magazine notes that its estimates are low. Other sources believe there are as many as 10,000 GIs deployed in Saudi Arabia and neighboring countries.

However, the magazine advises, this may be "the result of confusion."

"For some time," it explains, "there have been several thousand Americans, many of them

What's Going On

CALIFORNIA OAKLAND-BERKELEY

THE MIDDLE EAST TODAY: WHY BLACKS SUPPORT THE PALESTINIAN STRUGGLE. Speakers to be announced. Sat., Nov. 3, 7:30 p.m. 1467 Fruitvale Ave., Oakland. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 261-1210.

SAN DIEGO

HOW TO WIN WOMEN'S EQUALITY ON THE JOB. Speakers: Pat Hryczyszyn, president, San Diego National Organization for Women; Elizabeth Reed, Southern Calif. vice-president, Service Employees International Union Local 535; and Selva Machado, member, International Association of Machinists Local 1125. Sun., Oct. 28, 7 p.m. 1053 15th St. For more information call (714) 234-4630.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE CASE FOR A LABOR PARTY. Speaker: Sylvia Weinstein, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor. Fri., Nov. 2, 8 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (415) 824-1992.

GEORGIA ATLANTA

WHAT'S BEHIND CARTER'S THREATS AGAINST CUBA? A panel discussion. Sun., Oct. 28, 7 p.m. 509 Peachtree St. NE. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (404) 872-7229.

ILLINOIS CHICAGO

CUBA TODAY: EYEWITNESS REPORT. Speaker: José G. Pérez, editor, *Perspectiva Mundial*, recently returned from Cuba. Sat., Oct. 27, 7:30 p.m. 434 S. Wabash, Room 700. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (312) 939-0737.

MARYLAND BALTIMORE

CARTER'S NEW WAR THREAT: ITS MEANING FOR CUBA AND NICARAGUA. Speaker: Cathy Sedwick, national chair, Young Socialist Alliance, recently returned from Cuba and Nicaragua. Sun., Oct. 28, 7 p.m. 2913 Greenmount Ave.

Donation: \$1.50. For more information call (301) 235-0013.

MASSACHUSETTS BOSTON

THE ENERGY CRISIS AND THE ROLE OF THE UNIONS. Speaker: Kip Hedges, International Union of Electrical Workers Local 201 and Socialist Workers Party. Sun., Nov. 4, 7:30 p.m. YMCA, Room 239, Neptune Blvd., Lynn. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (617) 262-4621.

MISSOURI KANSAS CITY

THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S EQUALITY: WHICH WAY FORWARD? Speaker: Isabella Listopad, member of Socialist Workers Party and United Auto Workers Local 93. Film showing. Sun., Nov. 4, 7:30 p.m. 4715-A Troost Ave. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY AND BANQUET. Speakers: Héctor Marroquín, SWP member seeking political asylum in U.S.; Marty Pettit, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate. Sat., Nov. 10,

social 6 p.m., dinner 7 p.m.; rally 8:30 p.m. El Tapatio Restaurant, 23rd & Summit. Donation: \$5.50 banquet & rally; \$2 rally only. Ausp: SWP Campaign Committee. For more information call (816) 753-0404.

NEW YORK

LOWER MANHATTAN

EL SALVADOR: A PEOPLE IN STRUGGLE. Speaker: Anibal Yáñez, staff writer for *Perspectiva Mundial*. Sat., Nov. 10, 7 p.m. 108 E. 16th St. (half block east of Union Square). Donation: \$2. Ausp: Militant and *Perspectiva Mundial*. For more information call (212) 260-6400.

OREGON PORTLAND

ABORTION—A WOMAN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE. Speakers: Beth Peterson, Judy Shipley, and Betsy Cummings. Sun., Oct. 28, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW. Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

STOP THE ATTACKS ON THE AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT. Speaker: Robert Buckskin, member, American Indian

Movement. Film: "The Longest Walk." Sun., Nov. 4, 7:30 p.m. 711 NW. Everett St. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

TEXAS

SAN ANTONIO

LABOR AND THE FIGHT FOR THE ERA. Speaker: Laura Garza, member of International Union of Electrical Workers Local 1019 and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Nov. 2, 8 p.m. 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. For more information call (512) 735-3141.

WISCONSIN MILWAUKEE

SOCIALIST WORKERS CAMPAIGN RALLY. Speakers: Andrew Pulley, SWP candidate for president; Matthew Herreshoff, SWP candidate for mayor, worker on the Milwaukee Road, Brotherhood of Firemen & Oilers Local Lodge 763. Sat., Nov. 3, reception 6:30 p.m., rally 7:30 p.m. 3901 N. 27th St. Donation: \$2. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (414) 445-2076.



Mo. Teamsters aid ERA fight



Militant/Glen Campbell

Joint Council 13 of the Teamsters union has made office space available to the Missouri ERA coalition. The coalition is working to win Missouri ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment.

The announcement was made by Edwin Dorsey, president of Joint Council 13. In the September 21 issue of the *Missouri Teamster*, he wrote:

"We are committed to ERA ratification because the removal of any and all barriers to equal rights and equal opportunities for women is long overdue. . . .

"We and all trade unionists," Dorsey continued, "have long recognized the equity underlying the Equal Rights Amendment which,

applied to our situation, can best be expressed as 'equal pay for equal work.' Without the commitment to that principle, employers can play off women workers against men, to the detriment of all."

Dorsey recalled that in labor's successful 1978 fight to defeat a union-busting state "right to work" proposition, "we had many allies but none stronger than the women's movement. . . .

"The women's movement," he declared, "was instrumental in helping us win our fight and now we can and must become instrumental in helping them in what is the No. 1 priority on their agenda. We must make their No. 1 priority our No. 1 priority."

October 4-5. Wilkinson had come to the area boasting of the Klan's success in recruiting at navy bases in and around Norfolk.

Only fifty diehard racists attended the Klan rally in nearby Virginia Beach.

The day before, the Student Government Association at predominately Black Norfolk State University hosted a campus anti-Klan protest of nearly 500.

SGA president Borbie Davis told the gathering, "We are here to personally extend an invitation to the Klan to get out of Virginia and out of the country."

Speaking for the Black Vanguard Resource Center, a community organization in Norfolk, Diana Chapell brought cheers from the crowd when she said, "The KKK is rising with the consent of local, state, and federal government. We are not intimidated, however."

The following evening more than 100 anti-Klan protesters joined a spirited picket near the site of the Klan rally.

The action was called by People United for Human Jus-

tice, a coalition of civil rights, community, and political groups.

As the protesters marched by the KKK rally they were met by scores of riot-equipped cops and a few Klan supporters chanting, "Niggers go home," and "KKK."

The pickets were not provoked, however, and continued their protest for nearly two hours and then dispersed.

KKK LEADER ARRESTED FOR THREATENING TWO VIETNAMESE

The FBI arrested a Cullman, Alabama, Ku Klux Klan leader October 10 for threatening two Vietnamese at their workplace. KKKer Clarence Brown was charged with violating a civil rights statute prohibiting interference with employment because of national origin.

The Vietnamese, who left their country in 1975, said Brown harassed them on the job and, in one instance, threatened one of them with a knife.

If convicted, Brown faces a maximum of a year in jail and a \$1,000 fine.

Blessed are the poor—If you've got nothing, you've got nothing to lose, right? Asked if the poor wouldn't be hurt by Carter's moves to boost interest rates, HEW secretary Patricia Harris responded, "They don't have any money that is subject to interest rates and probably would not qualify for loans."

Note to Patricia Harris—"Higher interest rates will exacerbate the recession. . . . The first workers to be laid off will be those in less skilled, lower paid jobs, and those with least seniority. In many cases, that translates into layoffs for Blacks, Latinos and others who will not find other work."—*Los Angeles Times*, October 11, page 1.

Astonishing—The Swedish government found that reduced train fares and improved service resulted in more passengers.

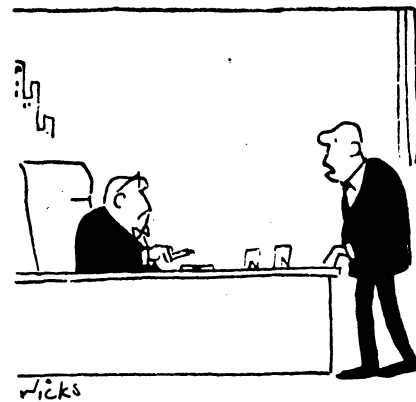
Maybe in the prison kitchen—The state prison at Waupun, Wisconsin, reversed its ban on a prisoner receiving the issue of the *Progressive* with the article on the H-bomb. Initially, officials said no because they generally take a dim view of any literature on how to make bombs. But, on closer examination, they concluded that "there's no way a prisoner could make a hydrogen bomb."

Chasing the ambulance chasers—The state of New York disbarred fifty-five lawyers in 1978 as against forty in 1977. The increase was attributed to a new state law requiring the automatic disbarment of

lawyers convicted of a federal felony. Previously this was the case only for state felonies.

How civilized can you get?—The Justice Department awarded more than three-quarters of a million dollars to three groups to help police officials "develop a sound policy and useful guidelines for the appropriate use of deadly force."

Pin-point accuracy—Another satellite is expected to crash back on earth around November 5. Space agency officials said the reentry zone may include Florida, southern Texas, and the southern edge of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. Also, Central America, the Caribbean islands, much of South America and Africa, the Arabian peninsula and most of India, southern China, and Australia.



There's been a security leak. The workers have found out we've increased our profits.

Union Talk

Anger over crew consist

This week's column is by Linda Slodki, a fireperson on Conrail and a member of United Transportation Union Local 800.

ELIZABETHPORT, N.J.—On October 5 when I arrived at work at the railyard here, I learned that a strike by the yard trainpersons had begun a few hours earlier. Although information was scant, by that time it already appeared to be over since there were no picket lines up.

Later, I heard from Conrail firepersons in Philadelphia and Washington, that there had been isolated walkouts there, and that a court injunction had been issued ordering all strikers back to work.

Why did this walkout—which was crushed by an injunction only two hours after it began—occur? It was in response to the systemwide agreement reducing crew sizes, which is called "crew consist." It is also in effect on several other lines, including the Milwaukee Road.

Crew consist means that there are fewer regular jobs and so more people have to work on call on the "extra boards." Job conditions get considerably worse. Conrail supposedly compensates the reduced crew by guaranteeing an extra \$48 in place of the displaced third member.

On the crew that reportedly sparked the October 5 walkouts, the person with the least seniority was removed from the crew and that job was eliminated. In this case, the worker with the least seniority had thirty-five years on the job! Instead of being able to use his seniority to choose another job on the railroad, he was forced to go on an extra board seventy-five miles from home.

The two remaining crew members were also hit with doing the job that three workers had done before.

The two demands of the strike were: for the displaced crew member, the right to exercise immediate seniority in bidding for a regular job instead of being forced

onto the extra boards; and for the remaining two crew members, the right to use immediate seniority if they want to change jobs.

The railroads even violate the crew consist agreement's few restrictions, such as the one requiring full three-person crews on trains of more than seventy cars. In South Philadelphia, trains with more than seventy cars are being ordered out with shortened crews.

Harassment is being stepped up. There are increasing numbers of trials and investigations of workers on the extra board who do not answer their phones (and thus can not be called in to work).

One thing is clear: crew consist is unpopular among rail workers on Conrail. It undercuts seniority. It forces you to work seventy-five miles from home. It reduces the good jobs available. It is a major attack on the rights of rail workers.

Every engineer I spoke with indicated a willingness to walk off in solidarity with the trainpeople. Several people referred to the Youngstown walkout earlier this year. The Conrail workers there had been subjected to crew reductions and then the company tried to pull three conductors out of service for exercising their right of early quit time. Workers shut down the yard the next day. As word spread, so did the walkouts until some 6,000 workers in the Ohio-Pennsylvania area were off the job. The conductors were reinstated.

Conrail workers in New Jersey said there was a similar potential here. But at the time of the strike, no one knew exactly what the issues were, not even in the adjacent yard. It was the walkout's biggest handicap.

Such actions show the willingness and determination of rail workers to do something about the companies' attacks on our rights. But they also show the kind of national, coordinated campaign by all unions on all the lines that is necessary to effectively fight crew consist.

The Vatican & the A-bomb

Some people were a bit astonished by the reactionary views expressed by Pope John Paul during his recent visit here. But his hostility to the rights of women and general commitment to the status quo have long been basic to Vatican politics. During the cold war of the 1950s, its right-wing views were expressed most nakedly, as indicated by the following article by Art Preis from the *Militant* of October 11, 1954.

* * *

Pope Pius XII has placed his imprimatur upon atomic, bacteriological and chemical weapons, provided these are used for "the strict demands of defense." His Holiness told the Congress of the World Medical Association in Rome on September 30 that "modern war" should not be unleashed "without a just cause (that is to say if it has not been forced upon one by a grave injustice that in no way can be avoided . . .)" Don't toss any H-bombs, piously admonished the authoritarian head of the Roman Catholic hierarchy, "except in the case where it is judged indispensable to defend oneself from existing conditions."

Naturally, whoever launches total war, with atomic, bacteriological, and chemical weapons of mass extermination, will claim to do so in accord with "the strict demands of defense" and with "just cause." This is particularly true of Wall Street imperialism, which is planning a war of atomic annihilation to preserve the capitalist profit system, including the richest capitalist institution on earth, the Roman Catholic Church under the totalitarian international rule of The Vatican.

God's Viceroy on earth, who presumes to speak in the name of the Prince of Peace, added that in using the H-bomb or some like weapon "to defend oneself" there must be "very clear and stringent limits upon its use so that its effect may not exceed the strict exigencies of defense." And he added the further stricture that "when . . . this kind of war escapes completely from human control, its use must be rejected as immoral." The "pure and simple annihilation of all human life within the range of action" is "not permitted for any reason whatsoever."

Now, just who does the Pope expect to start an atomic war without "just cause"? He said: "The community of peoples must look out for criminals without conscience who do not fear to launch total war. There is nothing for it, but for the people to prepare for the day when they must defend themselves." Defend themselves, presumably, with H-bombs.

Since, there are just two countries capable of waging total atomic war—the United States and the Soviet Union—it must be assumed that one of these must harbor those "criminals without conscience who do not fear to launch total war." No one believes the Pope is referring to capitalist America, which has done all the threatening about "massive retaliation" and similar "defensive" measures against the USSR, China, and Eastern Europe. Therefore, the Pope's message can quite properly be interpreted as a papal blessing on an atomic "defensive" war conducted by Wall Street against the Soviet Union and its allies.

We do not know the line of moral distinction between a weapon that causes "pure and simple annihilation of all human life within the range of action" and one that is only 50 percent or 10 percent effective as a murder device. The Pope, however, is equipped with a divine calculator to reckon such moral proportions. But if his words are not sheer hypocrisy, then they must be put down to ignorance of the real character of the weapons of modern war and the impossibility of putting "limits" on them so that they do not escape "completely from human control."

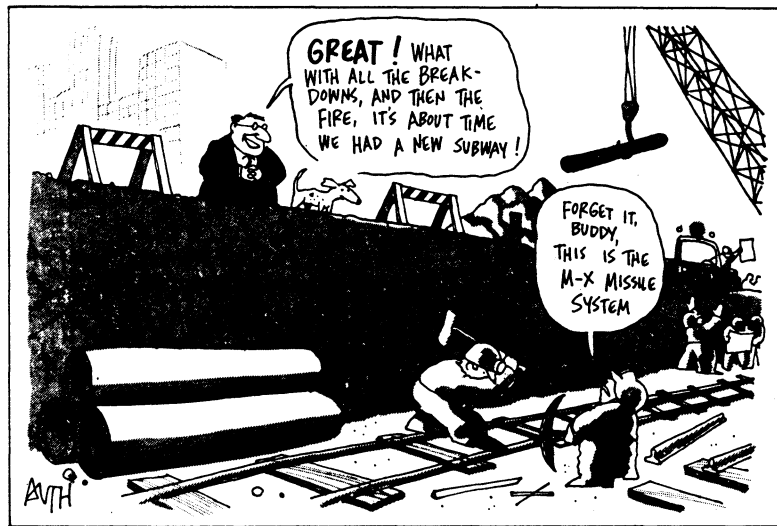
Take the latest model H-bombs, for instance. The type that the U.S. exploded in mid-Pacific on March 1, from which a Japanese fisherman died six months later after having been "dusted" with radioactive ash 80 miles from the blast, is capable of destroying all life over an area that might contain tens of millions of people.

Of this bomb, columnists Joseph and Stewart Alsop wrote on March 27 that it "will destroy a circular area of 300 square miles by fire and blast. But it will probably expose an area of 6,000 square miles to lethal radiation." (Emphasis in original.)

Such a bomb, they report, "will not only wipe the City of Hartford, say, off the face of the earth by its fireball and percussions, it will also shower most of the State of Connecticut with radio-active particles sufficiently powerful to cause the death of any one not sheltered from them."

Just 100 of these bombs "could destroy most of our major cities and temporarily paralyze a large part of the productive area of the United States," say the Alsops. And they are speaking of a bomb only one-third as powerful as the latest one developed.

Isn't it nonsense for the Pope or anyone else to talk about putting "stringent limits" on such weapons? And doesn't this give a religious cover to the capitalists who would use such weapons—for "defense," of course?



Inspired by 'Militant'

When I was living in the city, surrounded by co-thinkers and plenty of political activity, I had great respect for the *Militant* as a source of truth. But since moving to an isolated rural area, I have come to appreciate its value more than ever. I look forward to each issue and am grateful for the incisive analyses of events which are not only necessary for my own growth, but also serve as an important tool in political discussions.

The *Militant's* coverage of revolutionary developments in Latin America is especially inspiring, as is the example being set by Cuba in response to the struggles of its neighbors.

The *Militant* is absolutely crucial for keeping a healthy perspective. Thank you for keeping the vision of a socialist world alive.

Carole Coates
Boone, North Carolina

Toronto and Hamilton, Ontario, organized by the Committee to Save the Iranian 14.

Among the endorsers of a meeting in Toronto were Michael Mandel, professor at Osgoode Hall Law School; Joe Meslin, vice-president of the International Hatters Union; Rev. Bob Lindsay, United Church of Canada; John Argue, chair of Toronto metro New Democratic Party; and the Dovercourt NDP riding [election district] association. Socialist lawyer Harry Kopyto and Andre Beckerman, international representative for the United Garment Workers gave greetings.

Beckerman said that defending victims of Khomeini's terror and sending aid to the victorious Sandinistas in Nicaragua were solidarity campaigns that the labor movement had a responsibility to take up. Supporters of the fourteen contributed \$350.

Another meeting, on October 15 in Hamilton, Ontario, was sponsored by the Hamilton West and Centre NDP ridings, and Mike Davison, an NDP member of the provincial parliament. Several Iranians and Kurdish people attended the Hamilton meeting and signed a telegram in support of the fourteen. One Kurdish man spoke of the long struggle by the Kurdish people for their national rights.

As part of building Nouri's meetings, the Committee to Save the Iranian 14 approached groups and individuals to send telegrams demanding that the executions stop. As a result, both the Metro Toronto NDP and the Metro Toronto Labor Council sent telegrams to Iran.

Nouri's visit also received attention from the media. On October 16 Nouri appeared on CTV's cross-country program "Canada AM." He was also interviewed by DEC, a Toronto educational radio station that provides programs for numerous stations in Canada and the U.S. Hamilton's daily newspaper, the *Spectator*, publicized Nouri's meeting. And the October 16 *Spectator* featured a page-three interview with Nouri along with a picture.
Beverly Bernardo
Toronto

Gives up on SP

I would like some information on the history of the Socialist Workers Party. I recently left the Socialist Party USA because of its generally anti-Marxist stand as well as its impotence in organizing and carrying out an efficient, realistic political strategy.

Much time and energy was diverted into squabbles and associating with bourgeois "radical" and reformist groups. Not that it would be wrong to cooperate in a United Front or People's Council but the leadership refuses to see that by socialism and by socialism alone can there be any real progress toward a world based on collective ownership and equal access to natural resources and vital services.

At present I am an independent socialist and Marxian and not seeking admission into the SWP. However, I would vote for SWP candidates should they appear on the Alabama ballot in 1980. As it stands it would probably be better for progressives in most southern and western states to go-a-fishing on election day as they will have to choose between only reactionary and reformist parties.

Len Fite
Ashville, Alabama

'Apocalypse' counterview

This is in response to a review by Arnold Weissberg of the film *Apocalypse Now* [see October 19 *Militant*].

I have two brothers who were

Nouri tour

I am writing to inform your readers of the very successful tour of Farhad Nouri to

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Learning About Socialism

Riazanov on Marx and Engels

David Riazanov's *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, An Introduction to Their Lives and Works*, is outstanding as a clear and succinct introduction to these two great revolutionists.

It is a useful introductory work for those attending classes on the fundamentals of Marxism. Such classes are being sponsored this fall by branches of the Socialist Workers Party.

Who was David Riazanov? Having joined the Bolshevik Party in Russia in August 1917—in the midst of fierce persecution of the party by the Kerensky government and its Menshevik and Social Revolutionary backers—he was chosen in 1920 to head the Marx-Engels Institute.

Supporting Riazanov for this important post, Leon Trotsky wrote, "Lenin had in mind his idealism, his deep devotion to Marxist doctrine, his exceptional erudition, his honesty in principles, his intransigence in defense of the heritage of Marx and Engels. . . ."

Riazanov set to work finding, purchasing, translating, and publishing works of Marx and Engels—many of which had long been unavailable to the public.

Riazanov tried to keep out of the faction struggles in the Soviet government of the 1920s. But this did not keep him from earning the hostility of Joseph Stalin.

For one thing, he refused to break all ties with Trotsky when the Stalinist bureaucracy required this: "The deportee [Trotsky] had to earn a living . . . even a man deported under article 58, for 'counter-revolutionary activities' could still earn a living as a translator . . . Riazanov, his old friend, at present Director of the Marx-Engels Institute in Moscow . . . asked Trotsky to translate *Herr Vogt*. . . . The fees paid him by Riazanov supplied the family's needs and covered the cost of Trotsky's huge correspondence." So wrote Isaac Deutscher describing Trotsky's circumstances after Stalin exiled him to Alma Ata in 1928.

The *Monthly Review* edition of Riazanov's book is marred by an introduction by Dirk J. Struik, which attempts to apologize for Stalin's destruction of this valuable revolutionist. "His Menshevik sympathies had long been tolerated. . . . He had to return to Saratov. He died in 1938."

What "Menshevik sympathies"? Why did David Riazanov have to "return to Saratov"?

Saratov was part of the gulag, a prison. Riazanov was purged and destroyed, along with virtually the whole generation that made the Russian revolution and built the Soviet state. Some were accused of Menshevism, others of being Nazi agents—but all were framed up.

". . . librarians received the order to purge [Riazanov's] writings and his editions of Marx from their stocks," wrote Victor Serge.

The Marx-Engels Institute was transformed from a discoverer of truths about Marxism into an institute for covering up the Stalinist falsification and betrayal of Marxism.

Struik presently works for the Marx-Engels Institute as a member of the editorial commission preparing the collected works of Marx and Engels. He apparently regards slandering the man who founded this institute as part of his assignment.

Riazanov's *Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels* is a lasting work that today's revolutionists can learn much from. Riazanov provides us with one of the best guides and descriptions of the world that Marx and Engels grew up in and were influenced by. It is written by a historical materialist.

In his opening chapter, Riazanov states: ". . . to understand Marx—and this is a practical application of Marx's own method—we shall first proceed to study the historical background of his period and its influence upon him."

The reader is given a short description of the two main historical events signaling the rise of modern capitalism; the industrial revolution that began in England in the eighteenth century and the Great French Revolution of 1789, and how these influenced Germany and the young Germans Marx and Engels.

He continues, "Thus toward the middle of the thirties in both France and England there stepped forth into the arena a new revolutionary class—the proletariat. . . . The proletariat for the first time tried to form revolutionary organizations. . . . By this time Marx had reached his twenty-second and Engels his twentieth year."

He describes how "Marx was in search of a philosophy—a teaching which would enable him to give a theoretical foundation to the implacable hatred he felt for the then prevailing political and social system. Marx became a follower of the Hegelian philosophy. . . . At that time Engels too fell in with the set of the young Hegelians."

Riazanov describes how these two established a lasting collaboration. It brought them so close together that today it is difficult to separate out who wrote which work in many instances.

Students of the *Communist Manifesto* will find Chapter IV, giving the history of the Communist League which issued the *Manifesto*, particularly worthwhile and interesting.

Unfortunately *The Communist Manifesto* of Marx and Engels with explanatory notes, an earlier book by David Riazanov, has long been out of print. It was last issued in 1930 under the auspices of the old Marx-Engels Institute by International Publishers.

Copies of the sixty-seven pages of "Explanatory Notes" by Riazanov can be obtained from the National Education Department of the Socialist Workers Party, 410 West Street, New York, New 10014, for \$2.50.

A cassette recording of a talk by George Novack, "The Making of Marxism," which discusses Riazanov's work extensively, is now available from Pathfinder Press at the above address.

—Paul Montauk

marines in Vietnam from 1966 to 1971. One night we were looking at the tube and a movie came on called *The Green Berets*. My younger brother said, "Well, the special effects aren't that bad, better than most films on fighting." The elder brother said, "Yeah, but they don't do nothing else. They don't tell it like it is, like it really was. Everything."

I told them that it seemed to me that this is what they felt people wanted to see, a lot of buffoonery, artillery blasts, porno, good soldier/bad soldier, a few morals here and there, crazy generals and well-meaning officers, hints of homosexuality.

My older brother said, "Yeah, some of those things happened, but guys talked." The younger brother said, "You could hear grown men crying like babies. I know I did, hell yeah, I cried! But these people who make these movies can't deal with reality, especially when it's unreal."

Apocalypse Now, another bang, bang, shoot-em-up movie. Yup, I'm sure it is a stunning movie with great visual impact, "showgirls," lots of blood and guts spilling out all over the place, an insane colonel and assassin, and buffoonery, which is usual in Vietnam movies, is supplied by Blacks.

Now I know what my brother meant when he said, "These people who make these movies can't deal with reality, especially when it's unreal." He's right, only someone who lived it can.

Even someone who has lived with a vet can only begin to understand after a long period of time, even scratch the surface, of reality being unreal. Publishers and producers want "what can sell." They don't want to take "a chance" on getting bad reviews, losing money, or becoming controversial and "becoming another job for the FBI!"

The only thing that Coppola has done is succeed in making another bloody, sexist, and racist film to add to his long list of others. It's fashionable and profitable to make films about the Vietnam War now. Just like a few years ago when it was films about the mafia.

Lin Norris

Rockford, Illinois

The 'Militant' special prisoner fund makes it possible to send reduced-rate subscriptions to prisoners who can't pay for them. To help out, send your contribution to: Militant Prisoner Subscription Fund, 14 Charles Lane, New York, New York 10014.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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Unionists demand: nationalize oil industry!

Thousands join in nationwide energy protests

By Janice Lynn

Thousands of unionists turned out in scores of cities and towns October 17 to demonstrate their anger against the price-gouging oil companies. "Nationalize Big Oil" was the slogan that captured the mood of the crowd.

In Chicago, 5,000 protested. In New York City, nearly 1,000 rallied. And in Washington, D.C., more than 500 gathered on the Capitol steps. In many other cities, several hundred unionists attended rallies or picket lines to make their voices heard. Many were retirees, who with fixed incomes this winter will have to face what demonstrators' signs explained as "The aged's dilemma: Heat or eat."

Working people are fed up with paying exorbitant heating bills and gas prices so that the oil companies can pull in obscene profits. The October 17 actions showed that when given the chance, unionists are willing and eager to do something about the oil ripoff.

The national day of protest was organized by the Citizen/Labor Energy Coalition and the Progressive Alliance. Nationally the actions were spearheaded by the International Association of Machinists (IAM) and United Auto Workers (UAW). They were supported by a host of other national unions and by many regional AFL-CIO councils.

October 17 was preceded by the UAW's August six-minute job action when more than 1 million autoworkers stopped work to send postcards protesting the oil ripoff.

In the weeks before October 17, most national union newspapers ran articles about the upcoming actions. *Solidarity*, newspaper of the UAW, put out a special issue on the energy rip-off to coincide with the demonstrations.

The official national demands of the protests were: roll back oil prices, force refineries to work at full capacity, and create a taxpayer-owned energy corporation.

Some of the most popular proposals at the actions were those that called for nationalizing the entire energy industry.



New York City energy protest, October 17. Many unionists carried signs demanding 'Nationalize Big Oil.'

In New York, a sea of placards from UAW Local 259 demanded: "Do Unto Big Oil What They Do Unto Us—Rip Them Off—Nationalize Big Oil" and "Needle The Greedy Oil Barons—Nationalize Big Oil."

In St. Paul, Minnesota, nearly 300 people gave a particularly rousing response to David Rowe, president of the Minnesota AFL-CIO, when he proposed nationalizing the energy industry.

Bill Peterson of the United Transportation Union Local 911 and the Save the Milwaukee Committee also received an enthusiastic reception. He spoke on the threatened Milwaukee Road shutdown and declared, "It's just crazy to dismantle the railroads when they are the most energy efficient means of transportation we have. The only solution is to nationalize the railroads and the energy industry and

run them in our interests—the interests of working people."

In Seattle, Jim Bender, executive secretary of the King County Labor Council, drew a big hand when he called for the nation's oil companies to be nationalized as a public utility. The Seattle rally of 200 was made up predominantly of IAM members and officials.

In Indianapolis, *Militant* correspondent Liz Sommers reports that a call for nationalization was voiced by Robert Brown of the Indiana State Council of Machinists. He told the 150 people present, "If we have to hit the bricks to get this done, we'll hit the bricks."

Similarly, in Detroit, William Marshall, president of the Michigan AFL-CIO, told the overwhelmingly union crowd of 500, "We should take one of these large oil companies and national-

ize it. Us working people must fight, because if we don't who's going to do it for us?" His remarks were greeted by cheers and applause.

Several unions have recently passed resolutions calling for the energy industry to be nationalized: IAM lodges 68 in San Francisco and 685 in San Diego, New England District Two and Local 210 of the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE), and the national convention of the United Electrical Workers (UE).

IUE members participated in an October 20 energy protest rally of more than 500 which coincided with Carter's visit to the Boston area. They carried a banner, "Public Ownership of the Energy Industry."

Among the 300 participants in a St. Louis march and rally were members of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic

Continued on page 21

5,000 in Chicago rally against 'Big Oil'

By John Studer

CHICAGO—Five thousand unionists and other Chicago-area residents, angered by skyrocketing oil prices, demonstrated October 7 in Chicago's Loop.

They gave an enthusiastic response to the speech by Ed Sadlowski of United Steelworkers District 31. Sadlowski urged: "Nationalize the oil industry. The oil is in the ground and the ground belongs to us, the people. Then we can have some say over the price of our energy."

Also speaking was Jerry Hawkins, Illinois legislative director for the United Mine Workers. "We have miners today who are out of work while there is a supposed energy crisis," Hawkins told the crowd. "We suffered a 110-day strike because the oil companies which own the coal companies gouge the

money out of you to force us out."

An especially warm response was given to a leaflet distributed by two antinuclear groups, Citizens Against Nuclear Power and the Bailly Alliance. It contained a resolution adopted by the recent Fifty-third Conference of USWA District 31 calling on the federal government "to immediately take control of all basic energy resources, cancel the nuclear power program, and begin immediate implementation of renewable technologies."

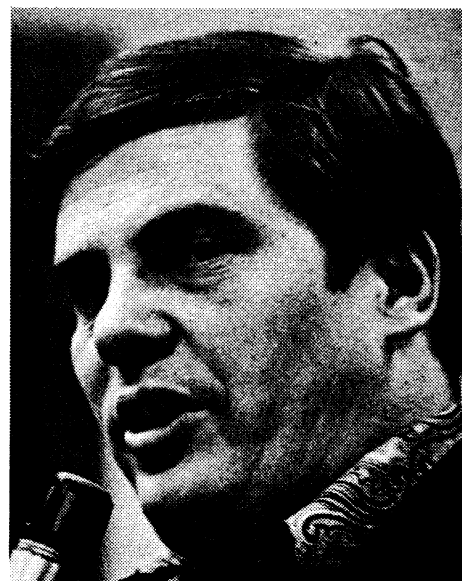
Busloads of unionists wearing United Auto Workers jackets came from General Motors' Electro-Motors Division, International Harvester, Stana-dyne, and from the union's regional headquarters. A bus also brought members of United Steelworkers Local 1010 at Inland Steel in Gary, Indiana.

Dozens of other unions were repre-

sented by banners, picket signs, and union jackets. The size of the rally was swelled by crowds of office workers on their lunch break.

The rally heard greetings telegraphed by Lane Kirkland, international secretary-treasurer of the AFL-CIO. Among the other speakers were representatives of the UAW; Amalgamated Clothing Workers; United Farm Workers union—Mid-West Boycott Office; Operation PUSH; and American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees. Nuclear opponents Jane Fonda and Tom Hayden also spoke.

One hundred and seven copies of the *Militant*, featuring proposals by Socialist Workers presidential candidate Andrew Pulley for nationalization of the energy industry, were quickly bought up by the crowd.



ED SADLOWSKI

Militant/Lynn Henderson